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EDITORIAL

THERE are now fifty-five remand homes in England and Wales, most of them small (forty with accommodation for not more than twenty-five, and only one exceeding one hundred places); they nevertheless make up for their size by the rapidity of their turnover, the maximum period of a remand being only three weeks. In the sixty years of their existence their purpose has changed; originally a means of avoiding incarceration of children in police stations and work-houses, they are now rightly dignified by Herschel Prins as "residential diagnostic clinics for juvenile offenders." Administration would be simplified if it were confined to that, and if the flood of work relented a little; but remand homes must also act, at any time of the day or night, as places of safety, they have a custodial function, they frequently have to contain youngsters for whom no place in an approved school is yet available, they occasionally may be used for a period up to one month for detention as punishment, and in London there is approved school classification—fitting the boy to the school and providing social, educational, psychological and psychiatric facts and opinions as a basis for the boy's treatment in the school. This year the London boys' remand home has also provided a small security unit which, together with the long awaited Remand Centre, simultaneously established by the Commissioners of Prisons at Ashford, should allay public disquiet at the former remanding of difficult young persons to prison.

Remand Homes thus play an important and central part in the juvenile court system: they are actively evolving, they serve as a

meeting point for many different workers—probation service, children's department, teachers, national health service; through remand homes pass the majority of persistent and pathological delinquents. They have a strong link with the courts yet, because of the family problems and the nature of the disorders revealed by their investigations, their orientation is increasingly towards child care.

For these reasons the three principal articles in this issue are welcomed in the hope of stimulating further studies in a field which is rich in opportunity.

Dr. Eilenberg's study illustrates the usefulness of annual reports; it was made possible by Dr. Verner Wiley's carefully collected facts based upon his routine clinical duties, and upon the annual statistics of the health of L.C.C. school children. The collection of facts, and description, is still an indispensable basis for research. Dr. Wiley's findings in relation to the physique of delinquent children were similar in those of Charles Goring with his convicts in Parkhurst Prison.¹ Goring's final conclusion was "that the one significant physical association with criminality is a generally defective physique; and the one vital mental constitutional factor in the aetiology of crime is defective intelligence." We were left with the possibility that these two correlates of crime may or may not be causative factors. Subsequent studies such as those of Mary Woodward² on intelligence and now Dr. Eilenberg on physique are strongly suggestive that neither of Goring's correlates can be regarded as of central causative significance. It may be that criminality in Goring's day was qualitatively different, or it may be that he was in fact mistaking the causes of imprisonment for the causes of criminality and in this connection we may remember the McCord's finding that higher intelligence levels tend to protect the individual from committal to corrective institutions.³ We would very much like to know (especially in respect of Mr. Prins' and Dr. Cater's apparently contrasting recommendations for more remands on bail, and the "necessity" of remand to a residential setting, respectively) what the real causes of remand in custody might be.

¹ Charles Goring, *The English Convict*, abridged edition, London, H.M.S.O., 1919, p. 184.

² Mary Woodward, "The Role of Low Intelligence in Delinquency," *B.J.Del.*, 1955, Vol. 4, p. 281.

³ W. & J. McCord, *The Origins of Crime*, Columbia University Press, New York, 1959.

We are increasingly faced with the conclusion that crime and delinquency are closely related to other forms of personal and social failure, and that to isolate delinquency may be an artificiality; by so doing we run the risk of confusing other end-products with causative factors. Thus O'Neal and Robins⁴ from their thirty-year follow-up studies conclude that "criminal activity is frequently only one expression of a grossly disturbed life pattern of which transiency, violence, unstable family relations, as well as crime, are typical." As yet unpublished British studies support this, and Dr. Cater's findings in relation to poor school attendance, poor intellectual ability, unsatisfactory work record, and family dissolution, and Dr. Eilenberg's "high percentage of minor physical disease" and "chronic parental inadequacy," may also be confirmatory. If the relation of delinquency to other forms of social deviance is established it may have administrative repercussions on the uses of remand homes and the relation of remand homes to other forms of observation centres—children's reception centres, the "ascertaining" functions of school medical officers, child guidance clinics, remand centres, observation wards, and to the diagnostic centres envisaged by the Percy Committee⁵ and now likely to be implemented by Regional Hospital Boards—for all these units will certainly overlap to a considerable extent and have a need for close liaison.

We understand Dr. Cater's remark that "surely it is worthwhile breaking a few rules," and suspect that it might bring a cynical smile to the faces of some of the more intelligent delinquents were they to hear it; perhaps it is best regarded as a confirmation or encouragement of the present trend towards flexibility of disposal once the finding of guilt is established.

Any survey suggests a host of further studies; it seems a matter of individual preference which is stressed, whether family relationships (Mr. Prins), educational questions relating to discrepancy between capacity and performance, or to the final year at school (Dr. Eilenberg), or the early indications of disturbance, *e.g.*, non-attendance at school, or the management of the deprived child (Dr. Cater). It would seem that there are pressing problems awaiting

⁴ O'Neal & Robins, *Am.Sociol.Rev.*, 1958, Vol. 23, 162.

⁵ Cmnd. 169, H.M.S.O., May 1957, recommendation (10), p. 246.

investigation wherever we look in this wide field, and that remand homes offer some obvious advantages as a locus for research teams.

OBITUARY

It is with profound regret that we have to record the deaths of two officers of the Institute for the Study and Treatment of Delinquency: Sir LIONEL FOX, C.B., M.C., and PHINEAS QUASS, O.B.E., Q.C., M.A., LL.B., B.Sc.

The Institute was greatly honoured when, after his retiral from the Chairmanship of the Prison Commission, Sir Lionel accepted the position of Chairman of the Council of the I.S.T.D. His term of office was tragically short (dating from January 1961) but already his personality and flair for administrative guidance had manifested themselves in the most unmistakable way. His death is a heavy loss not only to the Institute but to the science of criminology.

Phineas Quass took an active part in the formation of the I.S.T.D. and became a member of the Council in 1934. During the war he became Chairman of the Executive Committee, and served in that capacity until, on the retiral of Lord Chorley, he was appointed Chairman of the Council, a post he held until January 1961, when he was succeeded by Sir Lionel Fox. The Institute owes more than it can say to the skill and devotion with which he served the I.S.T.D.

We append below appreciations of Sir Lionel Fox by Sir George Benson, M.P., and of Mr. Quass by Dr. Emanuel Miller.

SIR LIONEL FOX

Sir George Benson writes

To all who had the privilege of knowing Sir Lionel Fox, his death will come as a sad blow. It is no exaggeration to say that he was the greatest penal reformer this country has known since the death of John Howard a century and a half ago. We have only to compare the pitifully slow progress in the fifty years following the Gladstone report in the nineties with the revolution which took place in the years following 1945, when he became Chairman of the Prison Commission, to realise how much we owe to his vision and courage.

He became Chairman of the Commission in a period of unparalleled difficulty. Like many of our institutions, our penal system had been seriously affected by the war, for owing to the crime wave the post-war prison population in 1946 was 50 per cent. higher than in 1938. Fox met this situation, not only by bringing reserve prisons into use but by the rapid development of open prisons. Prior to the war the small camp dependent on Wakefield prison had been the only open institution. Along with the development of open institutions he greatly ameliorated the general prison régime.

He believed that the deterrent effect of imprisonment should lie in the loss of liberty, not in the severity of the régime. Once he summed up his attitude to the prison system by saying that "people are sent to prison as a punishment not for punishment." But actually he had no interest in punishment and very little in the idea of deterrence. His basic hope was that our prisons should become reformatory. And no man did more to make that hope a reality.

Dr. Hermann Mannheim adds

In addition to Sir Lionel Fox's great qualities as a practical penal reformer so rightly stressed by Sir George Benson, Fox also played a very considerable and constructive part in promoting penological research. It was he who gave, probably for the first time in this country, academic research workers generous access to penal institutions and their inmates, and without his active support and continuous interest the Borstal Prediction Study could not have been undertaken. To the *British Journal of Delinquency* (as it then was) he made some highly significant contributions, and, unless prevented by illness, he was a frequent participant in the meetings of the Scientific Group for the Discussion of Delinquency Problems (now The British Society of Criminology).

MR. PHINEAS QUASS

Dr. Emanuel Miller writes

The passing of Mr. Phineas Quass must have come as a painful surprise to those who in comparatively recent months saw him active in his profession, going to and fro to Africa and India to important

legal assignments and conducting a busy practice as a silk at the Inner Temple, where he had become a Bencher.

P.Q., as he was familiarly referred to, had a striking academic career. Before leaving University College School, he had already accomplished the rare achievement of obtaining his B.Sc. With a Natural Science Scholarship, he entered St. John's College, Cambridge, and took a First in Maths. Pt. I, proceeding in the next year to a First, Natural Science Part I. This was followed, to everyone's surprise, with a First in History Pt. II, and a Second in Economics the following year. It was only in his fourth and graduate year, that he decided to turn to law and obtain high honours again; and at the same time was awarded the Whewell Scholarship in International Law. These five "Honours" were only equalled by the biologist, Professor the Reverend Gwatkin, years before.

Physically not up to standard for military service, for which he volunteered in 1914, he was quickly absorbed into the Ministry of Food, where his maths, economics and law were invaluable assets to his chiefs, Beveridge and Udny Yule, who recognised his high ability. With the O.B.E. to his credit in 1920, he was already called to the Bar at the Inner Temple, where he practised on mainly commercial cases till his death.

In 1934 he joined the Council of the I.S.T.D. and all who served with him recognised his quick, orderly mind with a memory of uncanny quality in acquisition and discarding.

He took silk in 1956 and acquired a reputation in work with the newly established states of Africa. It was while in Kenya in March 1961 that he fell sick and returned home. It is paradoxical and depressing to think that so brilliant an intellect should succumb to a fatal cerebral disorder.

P.Q. was not only an accomplished advocate and brilliant in cross-examination, but a ready wit, sometimes prepared to clown in a disarming fashion. He never seemed to age; his photographs as an undergraduate and his appearance almost yesterday, were of a perky, short person, who never grew up; but what an adult intelligence!

His last year was saddened by the death of his young and only son. He leaves a widow and two daughters.

REMAND HOME BOYS, 1930-1955[†]

M. D. EILENBERG (*London*) *

THE humanitarian attitude towards mentally ill people received its major impetus at the time of the French Revolution in the late eighteenth century, represented in France by Pinel and, in a more peaceful setting in England, by Tuke. The latter half of the nineteenth century was not only the time of great legal changes affecting the mentally ill, but was temporally accompanied by social reforms with which the name of the Earl of Shaftesbury is historically associated. Though the present paper is concerned with delinquency and more particularly with Remand Homes, the latter can only be adequately understood in the wider setting of the legislative changes affecting all aspects of child care. The common theme implicit in the legal changes discussed is the growing sympathy with the child and the increasing desire to understand and help him or her with the problems of living and developing in an adult society.

Scott (1947) reviews the history of the London Remand Homes and points out that as early as 1897 the managers of the Metropolitan Asylum Board were authorised to provide "Remand Homes" for the London area. The Youthful Offenders Act, 1901, came into operation in 1902 and allowed magistrates to send children to the newly opened premises instead of to the Work House as was the previous practice. In 1902 three premises were occupied, though children were not sent there till after the magistrate's hearing. Whilst awaiting trial they were lodged in a police cell.

The Children's Act, 1908, made admission compulsory, on arrest, to the now officially called "Place of Detention," whatever the hour of day or night. The lower age of criminal responsibility was seven years, juvenile courts were established and dealt with

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† Acknowledgments are made to the London County Council for permission to publish, but they are in no way responsible for the opinions and conclusions stated. Also to Dr. Peter Scott for initiating this study and for his constant encouragement.

children up to the age of sixteen years. It was not till 1911 that the London County Council became responsible for the above homes and Ponton Road replaced the premises at Camberwell in 1913. In 1912 these homes had the part-time services of a medical officer; a psychologist examined referred cases in 1913 but it was not until 1936 that a psychiatrist was appointed (with transfer from Ponton Road to Stamford House) to be followed by the appointment of a general practitioner in 1937 to deal with the physical examination and health of those detained. In view of the now changed attitude towards children in need of care or protection, it is worth recording that the Poor Law Act, 1930, stated that children "be set to work or put out as apprentices, all children whose parents are not in the opinion of the council able to maintain or keep their children."

The Children and Young Person Act, 1933, raised the minimum age limit to eight years and defined the "young person" as from fourteen to under seventeen years, though, for ease of description, the term "child" will be used to cover both age groups in this paper. The term "Remand Home" officially replaced that of "Place of Detention" and a number of sections were devoted to clarifying those children eligible for admission. The remand home thus became the temporary residence of children for a variety of reasons: (a) care or protection cases (placed directly if necessary) under the age of eight years, (b) eight to under seventeen years, in need of care and protection, (c) eight to under seventeen years remanded or an interim Fit Person Order made by the court for inquiries (including neglect, beyond control, in moral danger, venereal disease suspects, or sexual cases), (d) alleged delinquents awaiting court appearance, (e) a punishment group for detention of up to twenty-eight days.

Though the responsibility for the remand home was placed on the local authority, the premises were open to inspection by the Home Office who first in 1933 issued an Order (S.R. & O 1933) (No. 987) laying down rules for the administration and welfare of the children. These main stipulations were as follows: (a) instituting schoolroom instruction, (b) medical supervision, (c) facilities for religious observance, (d) availability of indoor and outdoor recreation, (e) discipline to be maintained by appropriate means. The

administration of the home was under the Director of Education and the staff consisted of a warden or supervisor capable of giving a report of the child's stay, supervisory officers (non-teachers) and a matron. Facilities could be available for the educational and intellectual assessment of the child by an educational psychologist and a psychiatrist's opinion be available, if required. In addition the 1933 Act, in the hope of furthering co-operation between the juvenile courts and the local education authority, transferred responsibility from the police to the county or county borough council.

Under the Rules of 1938 (Children Act) truancy cases, previously dealt with in the adult courts under the 1921 Act, were now sent to the juvenile court, making reports available from probation officers, local authorities and psychologists.

It was not till 1936 that the Middlesex County Council established its own remand home, having previously used the London facilities. Not till 1944 was a separate remand home established for girls in London, at Marlesford Lodge, Stamford House having previously received both sexes.

The aim of the Children Act, 1948, is of sufficient importance to be worth quoting here; it "makes provision for the care or welfare up to the age of eighteen years and in certain cases for further periods, of boys and girls when they are without parents or have been lost or abandoned or are living away from their parents or when their parents are unfit to take care of them." This Act implements the principal recommendations of the Curtis and Clyde Committees. It concentrates central control under the Home Office, previously shared with the Ministry of Health, and increases the legal responsibilities of the local authority. A wide service for children is undertaken with the creation of a children's officer and children's committee, as well as provision of homes either as permanent, temporary or place of safety accommodation. This Act replaced the Poor Law (1930) provisions for children, the latter in its turn being replaced by the National Assistance Act, 1948.

The Criminal Justice Act, 1948, as part of its aim attempted to keep young offenders out of prison and conceived of alternative means of dealing with them by the establishment of attendance

centres (12-21 years), detention centres (14-21 years) and remand centres (14-21 years) where the children could be physically and psychologically assessed during their three weeks' stay. Section 49 made the Secretary of State responsible for approving the person in charge of the remand home, and enacted that the premises used required similar approval and finally that the county councils or county borough councils may provide facilities for assessing the physical and mental functioning of the children.

The National Health Service, 1946, by including child services within its framework, allowed the further development of child psychiatric units and played its part in the ever-growing medical interest in delinquents. Facilities for the "handicapped child" and the educational concept of the "emotionally maladjusted" and "educationally subnormal child" were important advances that allowed more positive and helpful attitudes to develop and had an inevitable if indirect effect on the children in the remand home. Categories of handicapped children including the above group were defined by regulations from the Minister of Education in 1953.

The Children and Young Person (Amendment) Act, 1952, has enlarged the category of care or protection cases, so that ignorance on the part of the parents was accepted and wilful neglect not necessarily implied. If the child is under twelve years commitment to special reception centres is now possible, instead of to a remand home.

No attempt has been made to assess the impact of the Mental Deficiency Act, 1913-1938, but the Mental Health Act, 1959, has abolished the previous division of the mentally ill and defective and introduced new terminology and simpler procedures for dealing with the intellectually subnormal patient.

The above review of some of the more important changes during the last fifty years shows the changing attitudes towards those children whose transgressions or misfortune have resulted in their appearing before the juvenile courts. From little in the way of welfare, a series of Acts has tended to appreciate their different status from adults, and increasingly to recognise their need for protection and even in the delinquent group to offer them all available

services in an attempt to help the children develop into happier, healthier individuals, better able to fit into the social framework of our time.

Aim of the Study

In the background setting of the legislative changes that have been introduced during the last fifty years, a comparison of persons referred to the remand home in 1930 and in 1955 is presented and discussed.

Methodology

A random sample (244) of all individuals admitted in the year 1955 was taken from the Stamford House Remand Home. Although not strictly comparable with the 1930 report, as the latter consisted of 685 boys and 100 girls, the main difference in the items compared will be commented upon in relation to the relevant tables. The original report is that by Wiley (1930), Medical Officer at the Ponton Road Place of Detention, and it therefore ante-dated the Children's Act of 1933. Physical assessments both in the 1930 report and the 1955 cases are classified into "good," "fair" and "bad" and in the absence of further clinical definition must be accepted as general clinical opinions with the individual subjective bias that this implies. The 1930 paper used Professor Burt's standardised reading and calculating tests for measuring educational levels, whereas the 1955 boys are assessed on Schonell tests carried out by the educational psychologist or by the teachers in the home. Intelligence was measured in the original paper by the application of the Stamford revision of the Binet Test and Healey's form board, in addition to the Porteus Maze Test to assess the motor ability of the subject. For control purposes with the 1955 subjects, comparable data where possible were obtained from published figures by the London County Council. Intelligence tests used in the cases were either the Stanford-Binet or the Wechsler-Bellevue for Children.

Tabulated Results

The following table compares the heights and weights of different age groups, the abbreviations for Wiley's paper is R.H. 30, and the

present paper R.H. 55, whilst the nearest London County Council figures obtainable were for the year 1954 and indicated as L.C.C. 54.

TABLE I
HEIGHT IN CMS.

AGE	16+	15+	14+	13+	12+	11+	10+	9+	8+
R.H. 55	168.0	163.8	157.5	155.0	147.5	142.5	140.0	135.0	126.5
R.H. 30	—	160.3	155.9	148.5	142.8	138.5	134.8	130.8	126.0
L.C.C. 54	171.0	167.3	161.0	153.8	148.5	143.3	138.7	133.6	128.8

WEIGHT IN KGS.

AGE	16+	15+	14+	13+	12+	11+	10+	9+	8+
R.H. 55	58.3	57.3	53.4	50.2	40.9	37.8	35.5	30.8	26.4
R.H. 30	—	49.7	45.1	38.7	34.7	32.2	30.2	27.7	25.2
L.C.C. 54	60.7	56.8	50.6	44.1	40.1	36.3	33.1	30.2	27.5

The above figures, as expected, reveal that the higher standard of living in this country coupled with the increasing facilities available for pre-school and schoolchildren has resulted in a generation characterised by an increase in both height and weight. The control figures suggest that up to puberty (14 years) there is little to differentiate the normal from the remand home child regarding height, though the controls after the age of fourteen years seem to outgrow the remand home group. In weight there is a tendency for the remand home children to be slightly heavier than the control. Thus the marked differences noted originally in the 1930 group between the subjects and controls have been essentially eliminated. The figures are basically in agreement with other writers (Gluecks 1952, East 1943 and Litauer 1957). Ferguson (1952) considered that "smaller stature in association with unsatisfactory home conditions" might play a part in delinquency and Pearce (1952) points to the possible causative factor in the individual of being "over-developed" or "overgrown."

TABLE 2

PHYSICAL STATE

	R.H. 55		L.C.C. 54	L.C.C. 30	R.H. 30
	Nos.	%	%	%	%
Nutrition good	50	20.7	60.4	20.5	17.4
fair	188	77.9	38.0	75.0	60.4
bad	3	1.2	1.6	4.5	22.2
Cleanliness Head					
Poor	0	0.0	0.6	0.6	7.1
Skin. Scabies	6	2.2	0.57	} 0.8	1.0
Impetigo	0	0.0	2.1		3.5
Others	19	7.8	1.35		11.7
Eye Disease	1	0.4	0.58	Recorded	3.3
Vision 6/12 +	44	18.2	8.8	18.5	23.2
			Nil		
Teeth. Bad	6	2.4	Recorded	7.1	5.8
Ears Otorrhea					
Deafness	14	5.8	0.63	12.6	9.3
Nose, Throat	10	4.1	5.97	4.2	2.4
Heart	3	1.2	2.70	2.0	2.7
Lung	3	1.2	1.41	1.2	3.4
			Nil	Nil	
Digestive	3	1.2	Recorded	Recorded	0.5
C.N.S. (Epilepsy)	3	1.2	0.39	0.0	0.6
Enuresis				Nil	
(History of)	33	13.2	1.57	Recorded	5.8
			Nil	Nil	
Cong. Syphilis	0	0.0	Recorded	Recorded	0.9
Speech	5	2.0	0.75	0.2	3.8
			Nil	Nil	
Genito-urinary	1	0.4	Recorded	Recorded	4.6
Deformities	19	7.6	4.82	1.4	3.4
			Nil	Nil	Nil
Nail-Biting	67	27.8	Recorded	Recorded	Recorded
Endocrine	4	1.6	ditto	ditto	2.4
Rickets	0	0.0	ditto	0.4	5.9
				Nil	
Physique good	172	71.3	ditto	Recorded	24.8
fair	57	23.6	ditto	ditto	57.3
bad	12	4.9	ditto	ditto	19.9

The table above lists the original disorders noted by Wiley, and comparison made with the findings in the 1955 remand home children, control figures being obtained, where possible, from the published London County Council figures of the same year. Thus

not only may the present generation be compared with that of the 1930 paper but comparison is available with the "normal" population. In the absence of adequate objective criteria or nutritional status one can only accept the subjective assessment of the examining doctor.

Points of interest are that the "Remand Home 55" boys are characterised by a higher incidence of disorder in the following categories:

	%	%
(a) poorer nutritional state	(79.1 :	39.6)
(b) skin disorders	(7.8 :	1.35)
(c) refractive errors	(18.2 :	8.8)
(d) otorrhea and deafness	(5.8 :	0.63)
(e) enuresis	(13.2 :	1.57)
(f) skeletal deformities	(7.6 :	4.82)
(g) a higher percentage of nail biting though there are no control figures available from the L.C.C. report		(27.8)

The increased physical well-being of the "1955 child" compared with the "1930 child" is seen in his better nutritional status, relative absence of verminous infection of the body and decrease in skin trouble. The drop in the incidence of rickets is only one example of the effect of environmental changes in the care of the child.

The findings of East (1943) who quotes 12.5 per cent. for defective vision and 4.0 per cent. impaired hearing are similar to those reported above and the same author in another work (1942) finds physical deformities in 5.0 per cent. compared with 7.6 per cent. by the present author. Burt (1948) accepted that the delinquent suffered from physical disorders 1.25 times more than the controls and it must be accepted that those boys referred to the remand home seem able to escape the vigilance of the school medical inspection or fail to co-operate adequately with treatment, a failing which possibly reflects diminished parental responsibility. The Gluecks' finding of 21.4 per cent. nail biting in their delinquent group is in agreement with the finding here of 27.8 per cent., though their incidence of enuresis, 28 per cent., is much higher than that quoted

above of 13.2 per cent. Litauer (1957) found enuresis in about one-third of his delinquents, and an equal proportion were classified as in "poor" or "fair" health.

TABLE 3
GROUP ACTIVITY

	R.H. 55		R.H. 30	
	Nos.	%	%	Nos.
Alone	129	52.8	49.8	128
One other	56	22.9	27.2	70
Two others	29	11.9	13.6	35
Three others	18	7.4	4.7	12
Four or more	12	4.9	4.7	12
TOTAL:	244	99.9	100.0	257

The two groups are not strictly comparable as the 1930 figures were compiled for theft and include offences by girls. However, it is worth noting how little change has occurred in the relative pattern of group delinquency. Thus 50 per cent. approximately of the total committed the act alone and 50 per cent. in the company of others.

TABLE 4
ANALYSING GROUP ACTIVITY BY AGE

AGE	16+	15+	14+	13+	12+	11+	10+	9+	8+	TOTAL
Alone	20	43	22	11	12	9	6	4	2	129
One other	7	10	10	8	7	4	3	4	3	56
Two others	3	6	4	3	6	1	4	2	—	29
Three others	1	3	5	—	4	3	2	—	—	18
Four or more	1	3	2	1	1	3	—	—	1	12
TOTAL:	32	65	43	23	30	20	15	10	6	244

The above table shows that the commonest age at remand is fifteen years, followed by the fourteen-year and the sixteen-year-old boy. Together these groups constitute 57.4 per cent. of the total group. The average age on remand is 14.3 years, and it is interesting to recall that for the 1930 children the comparable figure was

thirteen years, both groups showing that the last year at school has a certain significance, possibly of a stressful nature, which might be worthy of further study.

Scott (1956) reviews much of the literature on gangs and adds his own account of the structure and motivations of the varied types of groups described. Estimates from a variety of sources of the contribution to crime by gangs suggest that the remand home figures are fairly representative and reflect the relationship between crime and groups as noted by other workers, Commissioner of Police for the Metropolis (1951), Carr Saunders, Mannheim, Rhodes (1942). Burt's (1925) figures of 11.4 per cent. for gangs of three or four members is very much in agreement with the figures now presented of 12.3 per cent. Mannheim (1948) found 8 per cent. operating in groups of three or more, and the figure of 46.3 per cent. for individuals acting alone is also in agreement with the present findings. The 1955 figures also reveal a gradual increase of acting alone from 33.3 per cent. at eight years to 62.5 per cent. at the age of sixteen years.

TABLE 5
ARTICLES STOLEN

	R.H. 55	R.H. 30
TOTAL :	224	269
Money	60	76
Miscellaneous	52	—
Motor-cars and motor-bicycles	22	2
Bicycles	18	34
Foods, sweets, drinks	17	26
Handbags	10	—
Cigarettes	8	8
Watches	7	9
Jewellery	7	—
Penknives, air guns	12 }	6 }
Pens, pencils		
Cameras	3	—
Toy motors, cycles	2	—
Handkerchief	1	—
Cosmetics	1	—
Hen	1	—
Alcohol	1	—

The miscellaneous group consists of a heterogeneous number of articles which could be translated into money, *e.g.*, blankets, lamp-shades, lead, soap or items of a minor nature that were taken incidentally to the main delinquency, *e.g.*, breaking and entering. The most conspicuous change noted is the marked increase of stolen cars (Pearce found approximately 3.7 per cent. for 1936, 1937, 1938) or motor-cycles and this appears to have replaced the theft of bicycles; whilst the theft of handbags, presumably to obtain money, receives no mention in the 1930 paper. Despite the changing pattern of articles stolen, money still represents the biggest temptation and will continue so whilst the economic position of the country allows it to remain a useful commodity. Gibbens (1958) points out that car thieves tend to come from intact and affectionate homes, the more deprived child being liable to steal money, prior to puberty. Although no attempt has been made to differentiate those who take cars from those boys who take motor-cycles in the present paper, Gibbens suggests that the latter offer an appeal to the younger age group and is able to see the act of car stealing as having more symbolic significance than many other delinquencies. Cohen (1956) sees car stealing as the characteristic crime of the "middle-class." Gibbens points out, however, that the majority of his cases were not "middle-class" and adds a reminder "that even in subcultural delinquency there are individual psychological factors and that the disturbed middle-class delinquent is also influenced by social factors."

Tay (1943), in his report on delinquency for the years following the Children Act, 1933-1943, found all forms of stealing, including breaking and entering, amounted to 99 per cent. whilst the figure for Bradford for the years 1940-1942 was 92 per cent. In the Portsmouth report the percentage of bicycles stolen was ten and in the Bradford area eight. This is a finding comparable with the percentage of 8 per cent. found by the present writer, but a reduction on the figure of 12.6 per cent. quoted by Wiley. This suggests that the percentage of bicycles stolen by children might have reached a minimal level if one accepts the inevitability of

bicycle stealing at all and that the change may be dated in the early 1930s.

TABLE 6
INTELLIGENCE QUOTIENTS

		R.H. 55		R.H. 30
I.Q.		Nos.	%	%
	117+	21	8.9	} 26.2
	101-116	72	30.3	
	85-100	97	40.3	—
	84-69	42	17.8	—
	68-	5	2.1	—
	TOTAL	237	99	

By excluding 7.5 per cent. defectives and 26.2 per cent. up to or above chronological age, Wiley found 65 per cent. of his group were intellectually dull. If in the present series the 2.1 per cent. defectives and 39.2 per cent. average or above, are excluded, the figure of 58.1 per cent. is found. Thus although 39.2 per cent. are average or above, the majority are still backward and this is in general agreement with other findings, Pearce (1952) giving an average I.Q. of 84. Burt (1948) found a higher percentage of mental defectives, 8.1 per cent. with an I.Q. under seventy and superior intelligence (115+) in 3.3 per cent. His group of "natural dullness" constitutes 26.9 per cent., suggesting that perhaps a number of dull delinquents are singled out before reaching the stage of the remand home. Owing to the different cut-off points used in grouping the I.Q., Bagot and McClintock (1952) figures are not strictly comparable, though in general their figure of 48.2 per cent. of below average intelligence is in keeping with the present findings, whilst Tay reports 62.6 as mentally subnormal. Thus Bovet's (1951) summary "that the intelligence of the delinquent is less than his non-delinquent neighbour" receives some support.

TABLE 7
 ANALYSIS OF INTELLIGENCE BY AGE

YEARS	16+	15+	14+	13+	12+	11+	10+	9+	TOTAL	%
117+	4	8	1	4	1	1	1	1	21	8.9
101-116	14	19	10	7	12	3	6	1	72	30.4
85-100	14	21	19	9	12	10	7	5	97	40.9
84-69	4	9	12	1	5	4	4	3	42	17.7
-68	2	—	—	1	1	1	—	—	5	2.1
TOTAL:	38	57	42	22	31	19	18	10	237	100.0

 TABLE 8
 PERCENTAGE FOR EACH GROUP WITH I.Q. ABOVE AND
 BELOW 101

Age	16+	15+	14+	13+	12+	11+	10+	9+
Above 101	47	47	26	50	42	21	39	20
Below 101	53	53	74	50	58	79	61	80

Though one can emphasise from the above table the large proportion of children below average intelligence and point to the dramatic but unexplained peaks at nine, eleven and fourteen years, it is equally pertinent to point out the high incidence of boys above average intelligence. This implies the necessity of not overrating the part played by low intelligence alone in the aetiology of delinquency. Woodward (1955) reviews the literature on this topic and points out how, with improved tests and better methodology, the average I.Q. of delinquents has risen to ninety-two; that cultural factors are of importance as associated conditions in the groups studied and that the evidence is at present inconclusive regarding the aetiological importance of intelligence in delinquency.

Litauer's figures show a high percentage of below seventy (3.7 per cent.) and though he classifies the I.Q. into 115-129 (12.3 per cent.) and 130 (10.2 per cent.) these two groups are considerably larger than the present findings of 8.9 per cent. for 117+.

Educational attainment

The tables relating to attainment are firstly presented *in toto*, the adjoining one divides the "Remand Home 55" group into two. The "War" group refers to boys born at the beginning of the war who received their education during the war, whilst the "Post-war" boys gained their early education in the post-war period.

TABLE 9

	R.H. 55			
	R.H. 55	R.H. 30	War Group	Post-war Group
Up to or above chronological age	10.2	10.5	5.7	15.6
1 year retarded	10.7	14.5	4.9	17.6
2 years "	14.7	16.8	9.6	20.5
3 years "	16.0	18.8	15.3	16.6
4 years "	18.3	14.8	23.7	11.7
5 years "	11.6	13.1	13.9	8.9
6 years "	18.3	11.5	26.2	8.9

The same approximate percentages are noted, and the discrepancy between educational status and intelligence remains with us today as it did twenty-five years ago. This represents a challenge to educationalists and raises a number of questions. Is this a result of poor attendance alone? Is the personality of potential delinquents such that the present methods of teaching the basic subjects are inappropriate? Are the attitudes of the parents or the social environment such that learning is actively opposed?

The second part of Table 9 reveals some striking differences, thus 33.2 per cent. of boys in the post-war group compared with 10.6 per cent. in the war group were either up to their age or only one year retarded. It would have been of interest to know whether the war group were separated from home under evacuation schemes. It might be reasonably assumed that the post-war boys had a more stable record attendance than those during the war. In this respect Tay reported that 40 per cent. of his children were described as

irregular attenders, agreeing highly with the 44 per cent. reported by the Bradford study. Further, in this respect Bagot and McClintock found up to 55 per cent. truancy or unsatisfactory attendance. Ferguson also states that "low scholastic ability was the most powerful single factor associated with high incidence of crime." Thus a social study of the families and environment of the scholastically retarded child approached from the educational angle might be a useful approach to a difficult problem.

TABLE 10
ANALYSIS OF OFFENCES

(With figures by Pearce, 1936, 1937, 1938)

	R.H. 55	R.H. 30	R.H. 36	R.H. 37	R.H. 38
Theft	66%	58%	—	—	—
Beyond parental control	3.2%	12.4%	8.9%	9.1%	10.3%
Breach of recognisances	10.6%	6.5%	2.9%	5.1%	6.9%
Education Act cases	2.0%	5.1%	1.2%	1.9%	0.8%
Sex offences	2.0%	1.5%	—	—	—

No detailed list of offences is given here for the sake of brevity. Theft implies not only the larceny cases but also those where stealing of any kind is implied in the charge. Historically it is of interest to note the complete absence of boys with the charge of begging, vagrancy and criminal parents, whilst a modern innovation amongst others is the charge of carrying an offensive weapon, which was brought against four youngsters. Thus, apart from a few minor differences and change in the content of the theft discussed earlier, there is a remarkable uniformity between the years studied. The increase in breach of recognisances is partly due to the increased use of probations.

TABLE II
DISTRIBUTION FROM THE COURTS

	Nos.	%
East London	54	22
Lambeth	50	21
South East London	37	15
Friends House	29	11
Stamford House	29	11
Chelsea	21	9
South West London	9	4
Miscellaneous	15	6

Wiley commenting on his figure of court distribution reported that more than one-third of cases came from two juvenile courts, which again is approximately true of the present-day figure (43 per cent.) though he also points out the large number coming from the Middlesex courts. Although the different distribution within London of delinquency might explain the differing percentages, a study of equal interest would be the criteria for selection used by the magistrates.

"Special reports" were asked for in 21.4 per cent. of remanded children in 1930 compared with 81.6 per cent. psychiatric opinions in 1955. It is of interest to note that the suggestion of the Russell Vick Committee that psychological reports are asked for too frequently has not had an effect on the numbers of reports requested. Pearce notes percentage of reports for 1936, 1937 and 1938 as 11.6 per cent., 20.9 per cent. and 26.5 per cent. respectively.

TABLE OF REPORTS REQUESTED

Year	51	52	53	54	55	56	57	58
Psychiatric %	65.7	75.5	88.1	78.1	81.6	71.8	93.7	81.3
Superintendent %	20.1	27.7	35.4	22.7	23.5	27.4	46.1	58.2

Although in many remand homes outside London, superintendent reports are often expected as a routine, they require in London a magistrate's request. The recent marked increase in 1957

and 1958 is of interest and shows no element of rivalry in usurping the number of psychiatric reports required.

It is necessary to stress that the inclusion of one hundred girls in the 1930 study and not in the 1955 sample invalidates a strict comparison. Further, the remand home group is a biased sample of the delinquent population and is also complicated by containing a small number of non-delinquent children. With these provisos in mind a summary of the main findings is presented below.

- (a) Present day children in the remand home show a greatly improved state of health, increased weight and height compared with the 1930 group.
- (b) Compared with the 1954 controls, the remand home boys are of poorer nutritional status and show an increased percentage of minor physical disorders (skin, refractive error, E.N.T.).
- (c) The high percentage of boys with enuresis (13.2 per cent.) and nail biting (27.8 per cent) is noted.
- (d) Group activity shows little change.
- (e) The commonest age in the remand home was 14.3 years in 1955 and 13 years in 1930, both the school-leaving year.
- (f) The older the boy the more likely was commission of the delinquent act alone (62.5 per cent. at 16 years, 33.3 per cent. at 8 years).
- (g) The majority of boys have an intelligence quotient below 100 but the incidence of the defective group has been reduced (from 7.5 per cent. to 2.1 per cent.).
- (h) An unexplained high proportion of boys with intelligence quotient below 100 was found at the ages of nine, eleven and fourteen years.
- (i) The same discrepancy between intelligence quotient and educational attainment is noted as in the 1930 study. The "war educated" boys show a percentage of 10.6 compared with 33.2 in the "post-war" group measured for attainment "one year retarded or up to chronological age."
- (j) Theft still constitutes the most common offence, money being the main temptation.

- (k) The "carrying of offensive weapons" and the increased incidence of car stealing reflects the changing social environment, as does also the absence of vagrancy and begging charges. The stealing of handbags seems not to have received mention in the 1930 paper.
- (l) Although the remand home receives boys mainly from seven London courts, two courts together sent 43 per cent. of the boys admitted.
- (m) The greatly increased incidence of psychiatric reports requested by the courts is indicative of the changing attitudes to remand boys.

Discussion

The present findings are in agreement with previous studies in finding no differences in gross physical disease between delinquents and non-delinquents. Though gross physical disease may be of major importance in the individual delinquent the same argument does not apply to delinquency as a whole. The eradication of gross physical diseases and poor nutrition, as demonstrated by comparison of the 1955 and 1930 samples, is thus possible by the maintenance of a high standard of medical service within the school system. However, the delinquent group has a high percentage of minor physical disease which still persists despite a high standard of available medical care.

The author conceives of these minor physical diseases as being of causal significance in delinquency in three possible ways: (1) inadequate communication between the child and his environment because of physically inefficient apparatus, *i.e.*, diseased ears and eyes; (2) a general lowering of health due to chronic infection and subsequent lowered resistance to both physical and psychological stresses; (3) that the neglect of minor physical infections in a country where services are free and available may be symptomatic of chronic parental inadequacy.

It is to the problem of chronic parental inadequacy which reveals itself in the physical field that I wish to devote the remainder of the discussion. The explanation for this parental neglect may

be found in pathological personality traits, low intelligence or as a manifestation of social class. It is of interest that Wiley, in 1930, commented that the defects noted shed a flood of light not so much on the delinquent, but on his environment.

One of the important administrative problems of the "Welfare State" is bridging the gap between the availability of medical and social services and its application to those who are in greatest need of them. One aspect of the problem is how to translate effectively the services at a *personal* level to those parents probably of low social class who may be considered inadequate in fulfilling their true parental functions. It is obvious that the establishment of services, though a necessary step, is not in itself successful in reaching this type of family.

To this end the findings of a Departmental Committee on Children and Young Persons (1960) of the Home Office, set up under the Chairmanship of Lord Ingleby, are pertinent to our discussion. They recognised, as have previous workers both in Britain and elsewhere (Blacker 1952, Querido 1946), that a proportion of the population seem unable to avail themselves of social services whether on account of "limited intelligence, ignorance, shame and guilt in disclosing their predicament, resentfulness and distrust, or even perverse satisfaction at their degradation." The Committee's analysis suggested that four stages should be recognised in dealing with the prevention of neglect in the home.

First, detection of the families at risk. This can initially be made by those persons or organisations having immediate direct contact with such families—the school teachers, general practitioners, national assistance officer, ministers of religion, police, district nurses, education officers, health visitors or other social workers, or even neighbours. They should be aware of what to look for and what steps to take to initiate a remedial programme.

Secondly, investigation and diagnosis of the problem. The establishment of a "family advice centre" under the local authority is recommended, conveniently situated and easily recognised, free of departmental loyalties; a co-ordinating centre where accurate medical and social assessment can be made, utilising all available agencies and resources and having authority to decide the best

means of providing for each family at risk. From this centre a detailed plan of action can be formulated.

Thirdly, the therapeutic implications of this formulation involve consideration of housing inadequacies, problems of work and unemployment, financial assistance, medical treatment, psychiatric advice, instruction or therapy for parents and children and sustained support by visiting social workers, using both voluntary and statutory agencies. Thus conceived, psychological, social and medical orientations are brought to bear therapeutically on the family group.

Finally, adequate publicity is necessary to ensure that this centre and its functions are understood by all members of the community; directed equally to those in need and to those most suitably placed to detect such need.

It is appreciated that the problems of delinquency relate to a wide variety of forces affecting the community, political, social, economical and moral, and until these are better understood, attempts at delinquency control may well prove to be ineffectual. However, with this proviso in mind, the organisation of services thus outlined would not only serve to offer symptomatic treatment to the affected child but help towards relieving the underlying problems of the families who are in most need of help.

Further research along two lines from the educational angle seems worthy of consideration. First, a socio-psychological study commencing with the child whose scholastic retardation is greater than his intelligence suggests and spreading out to include his family and social *milieu*. Secondly, a more detailed inquiry into the possible difficulties encountered by the child approaching school-leaving age.

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BOYS IN REMAND

A STUDY OF 367 CASES †

ANTONY ESSEX-CATER (*Manchester*) *

Introduction

DURING the five-year period, 1954 to 1958, of an appointment in the Public Health Department of Swansea, my duties included those of medical officer to the Rheanaffa Remand Home. This provided me with the opportunity of investigating the socio-medical background of over 350 boys who were remanded in the home during that time. My original intention was also to collect a control series of boys from those examined at routine school medical sessions during the same period so that comparison would be possible between a normal (non-delinquent) group and the group of remanded boys. This intention proved impracticable for many reasons, notably because the remanded boys came from a wide geographical area of South Wales and were excessively weighted in some of the socio-medical characteristics I sought to investigate, *e.g.*, the incidence of "deprivation" was maximal.

This survey, therefore, has the weakness of having no control group for comparison with its findings but this is not an unknown deficiency in socio-medical studies. An additional fault, which must be stressed, is the unreliability of some of the information obtained. Dependence was inevitable in some respects on the written reports of probation officers and from other sources, the validity of which was at times doubtful. Reports concerning delinquents are often coloured by the prejudices of the observer and an interesting feature of my investigation was the important discrepancies observed in the estimation of one or more aspects of a boy formed by experienced persons. In some cases I had to accept information from boys which, because of intellectual retardation,

† The author wishes to thank the many persons in the Swansea area who assisted in the preparation of this study, particularly Mr. Wyndham Lewis.

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emotional disturbance or a genuine memory lapse, was not of a reliable nature.

Notwithstanding these admitted weaknesses I consider the investigation repaid the time and trouble expended on it. A detailed investigation of every child who enters a remand home is essential, apart from any inherent research value. In many cases, physical, mental and/or social abnormalities were recognised, proved capable of correction and thus initiated the rehabilitation of the boy concerned. In other cases the presence of such abnormalities, which proved incapable of correction, permitted a poor prognosis of the child's future to be made.

This investigation would have been impossible without the ready co-operation of many persons, especially Mr. Wyndham Lewis, a humane and outstanding superintendent, his staff, and professional colleagues in the hospital and local health authority and probation services. I should also like to acknowledge the willing co-operation of the boys who accepted a detailed investigation without resentment or hostility. Any value in this paper represents the willing work of others, any weakness is the sole responsibility of the author.

Totals

The yearly variation in the numbers of boys remanded and thus investigated shows a significant increase in 1958, when the national increase in child delinquency is mirrored by the admissions, which reached eighty-seven in nine months (estimated 109 in the whole year) compared with a range of from sixty-three to seventy-six in the four previous years, with an annual average of seventy—an increase of 55 per cent. in 1958.

Geographical Location of Boys' Homes

The home addresses of boys were used to divide them into those residing in urban communities and those living in rural communities. The division is arbitrary in South Wales, where small urban districts may be lost in predominantly rural surroundings and, conversely, urban isolates or extensive industrial areas may be remarkably rural in situation and culture. Certainly the distinction between urban and rural communities in South Wales is much

less marked, with some exceptions, than might be anticipated from a knowledge of other parts of Britain. No special significance should thus be read into the unexpectedly high proportion (33 per cent.) of cases from rural areas.

Ages of Boys Remanded

The law can remand any child over the age of eight years and the age-range of remanded cases is from eight to eighteen years, but the great majority of boys detained vary from ten to seventeen years. Younger boys should rarely require observation in a remand home and many older boys are, for various reasons, unsuitable for admission. A small number of older admissions included in this survey required transfer to H.M. Prison, Swansea, because their attitude or conduct seriously disturbed the normal pattern of life in the remand home—a regrettable but sometimes inevitable decision.

AGES OF BOYS ON REMAND

Age	1954	1955	1956	1957	1958	Total
Up to 12 years	27	22	21	18	20	108
13 years plus	49	41	53	49	64	256

Religion

Many boys were uncertain of their religious persuasion, excepting Roman Catholics and members of well-defined Welsh chapel groups, and this vagueness about religion impairs the value of classification by faith. The designation Church of England or Church of Wales hides many variants. The consideration of attendance at church does not simplify the question. Between the categoric affirmations of the regular attender and the resolute non-attender, was a large group whose response to questioning varied with their impression of the investigator's wishes and what, out of respect for their family's or their own souls, they felt they should admit to. Roman Catholics constituted 11 per cent. of boys retained in the remand home, while 20 per cent. of admissions had no religious obligation or were so vague about its nature as to nullify any allegiance they held. The division of boys into active participants in religion or inactive observers cannot be a dogmatic one. Boys who regularly

attended church services or Sunday school or who spoke in such a way as to indicate their sincere interest in religion were admitted as active persons. It would be instructive to attempt to judge the influence of religious training and obligation in preventing a child's decline into delinquent behaviour. But the complexity of such a study, and my own incompetence to carry it out, makes this one aspect, of many, which is for others to pursue.

Education

Only 4.6 per cent. of the boys remanded were grammar school boys, which can be compared with an overall 5-15 per cent. of boys in similar age groups who attend grammar schools. 3.9 per cent. of the pupils attended special schools or were, for some reason or other, ineducable. The remainder of the boys attended primary or secondary modern schools. When the reported school records of these boys were considered they revealed some interesting features. The unsatisfactory attendance record of nearly 43 per cent. of the boys (126 out of 294) in which school attendance could be ascertained was alarming, especially in view of the contemporary tendency for school attendance to be good. It suggests that prospective juvenile delinquents will be strongly represented amongst those children whose school attendance is irregular. It often appeared that school authorities had played regrettably little attention to the uncertified absences of pupils and many head-teachers had failed to stimulate their local education authority into making the necessary investigation of such cases and for compelling attendance where feasible. Conversely, Dr. George Cross, a consultant child psychiatrist encountered great difficulty in some cases in persuading education authorities in South Wales that it was desirable for a child to be kept away from school in his own interests or those of his family.¹ Education authorities will usually only accept clearly defined physical and mental ailments as rendering children unfit to attend school.

Only 3.3 per cent. of the boys were reported by their teachers, regardless of the type of school in which they were being educated, as being of good ability; but 52 per cent. were described as of poor

¹ Personal communication.

ability. This latter figure is especially significant in view of the reluctance of many teachers to be too harsh in assessing an errant pupil's ability. Scholastic instruction in the remand home, however, amply confirmed the dismal educational ability of many of these boys. 45 per cent. of the boys, many after intelligence testing, were considered to be of subnormal intellect. Such a high proportion of retarded boys must be compared with the rate for all children of the same age group, 20 per cent. of whom are of low or defective intelligence. Summarising — the delinquent boy is likely to be a poor attender at school and will often be of sub-normal intelligence.

While the teacher in assessing a pupil's attendance record and intellectual ability can be objective and his opinion correspondingly more reliable, in the case of a boy's character and conduct, his opinion will be essentially subjective and thus correspondingly less reliable. The ratios of satisfactory to unsatisfactory conduct and character are higher than might have been anticipated but are not measures the validity of which can be interpreted with assurance.

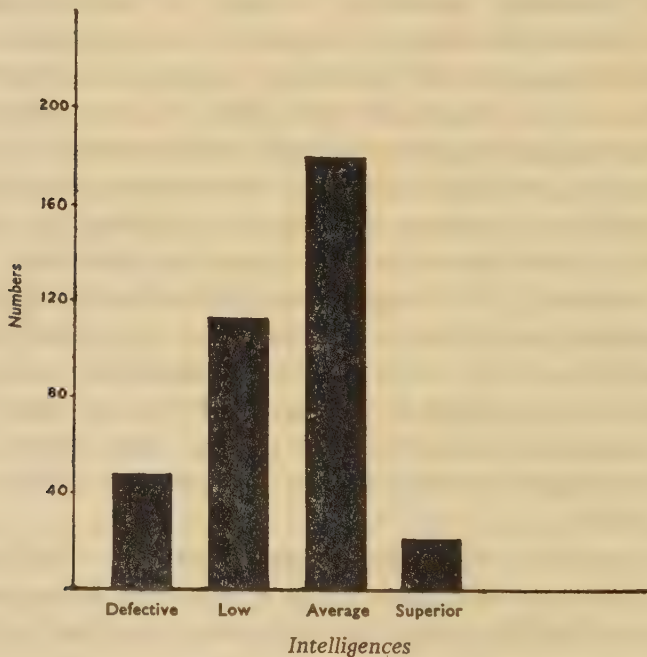


FIG. I. CLASSIFICATION OF REMAND BOYS BY INTELLECTUAL CAPACITY, 1954-1958.

Employment

A small minority of the boys were of employable age and of these nearly 20 per cent. were unemployed. Most of the employed boys had tried several jobs in the short period since they left school. Employed boys were not uncommonly delinquent in relation to occupation, *e.g.*, van boys stealing from their employers. It appeared that a number of the boys were engaged in work quite unsuited to their state of physical and/or mental development.

Reasons For Remand

Larceny (276 cases) was easily the predominant offence which led to the prosecution of young male delinquents. Sexual offences (24 cases) formed a relatively insignificant group and in some cases where a boy had had carnal knowledge of a girl it was with the latter's consent. I encountered one case of bestiality and several of rape or attempted rape. A few cases involved homosexual behaviour.

That group of boys (21 cases) classified as "out of control" contained a majority who, in my opinion, should not have been committed to a remand home. They included some persistent truants, often from rural districts, whom it would probably have been judicious to allow to quit school prematurely and commence the occupation they appeared to be so doggedly seeking. This group embraced difficult, yet normal, children whose detention stemmed from their parents' inadequacy rather than from their own defects or behaviour. Some of this group were young eccentrics—perverse, pig-headed but often engaging personalities to whom it was impossible to deny a right to go their own way.

The larceny cases varied from the determined, intelligent youth who had stolen a large sum of money and eloped with his girl friend, to many boys who had stolen quite useless articles for no apparent reason other than some transient whim of their imagination. Some remanded boys were hardened, systematic thieves, who continued stealing even in the remand home.

Previous Record of Delinquency

Nearly 25 per cent. (69) of the boys whose past records were available had been in an approved school or remand home on a

previous occasion. These boys constituted the hard core of juvenile offenders, some of whom will continue to exhibit delinquent behaviour for the rest of their lives.

Family Background

The Registrar-General's social grouping was used to classify the social background of the boys investigated. Only 3.5 per cent. came from social groups I and II; III yielded 30 per cent., IV—38 per cent. and V—28.5 per cent. A third of the boys (129) could not be placed in their social group because they had no father (the social group is normally based on the father's occupation). Where the mother was the working parent, her occupational group was utilised; where both parents worked the father's occupation established the social class.

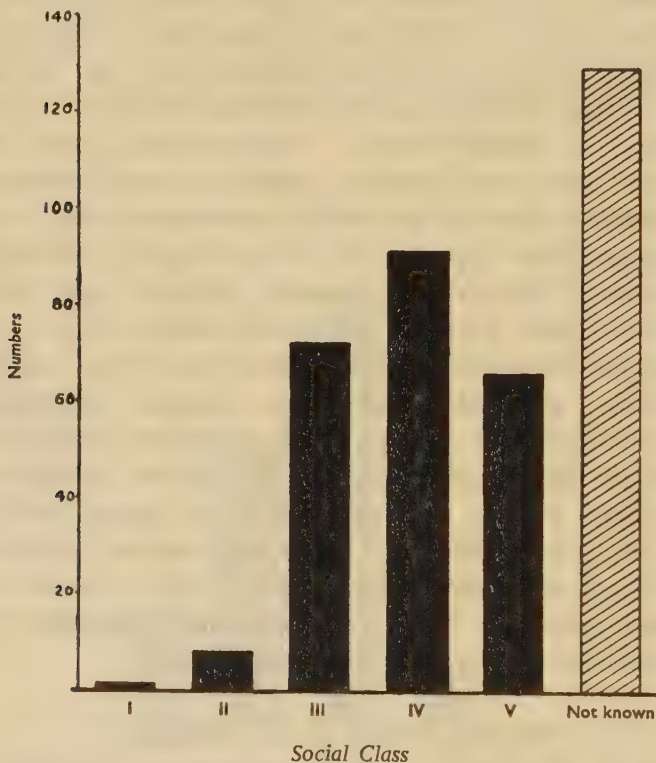


FIG. II. CLASSIFICATION BY SOCIAL CLASS OF BOYS ADMITTED TO REMAND HOME, 1954-1958.

A further aid to estimating the status and economic stability of the boy's family was assessment of its income. This, however, was a particularly unreliable measure and only three groups were used. 64 per cent. of cases in which income could be judged had a family income of less than £10 per week, notwithstanding that both parents might be earning; 30 per cent. earned from £11 to £15 per week, and only 6 per cent. admitted to earning £16 or more. I would not comment on these findings except to express the opinion that a reasonable family income appears to afford the children some measure of protection against the search for easy cash which pulls so many boys into delinquent behaviour.

Family size must clearly be a factor of importance in juvenile delinquency for many reasons, *e.g.*, more children imply less material benefits in the average family, or the older delinquents attract younger siblings into errant ways, etc. 45 per cent. of boys described their family as including at least three siblings, in addition to themselves.

I had anticipated that parental health would be positively correlated with child delinquency. Findings in this respect are disappointing, but information about parental health was mainly obtained from probation officers' reports and the interrogation of boys, neither completely reliable sources. In those cases (243) in which the information was obtained, 73 per cent. gave a history of good health in both parents, in 10 per cent. the father suffered poor health, in 13 per cent. the mother, and in 4 per cent. both parents.

Deprivation of one or both parents, or parent substitutes (*e.g.*, step-parents, aunts, uncles, or grandparents) is an accepted trigger of delinquency in childhood. Information concerning deprivation, or its absence, was obtained from 329 of the boys. 37.6 per cent. gave no history of deprivation. In 17 per cent. the father was dead or had deserted the home or was not known by the boy. In 8.2 per cent. the mother was dead, or missing from the home. In 3.3 per cent. of cases both parents were dead or absent from the home. 24 per cent. of boys reported some other form of deprivation, *e.g.*, significant periods of separation from the parent(s) or parent substitute(s), including lengthy spells in hospital, attendance at residential special schools, etc. A further 10 per cent. were living in children's homes

for a variety of reasons, *e.g.*, out of control at home, neglect by parent(s), or parent(s) for some reason or other unable to care for them.

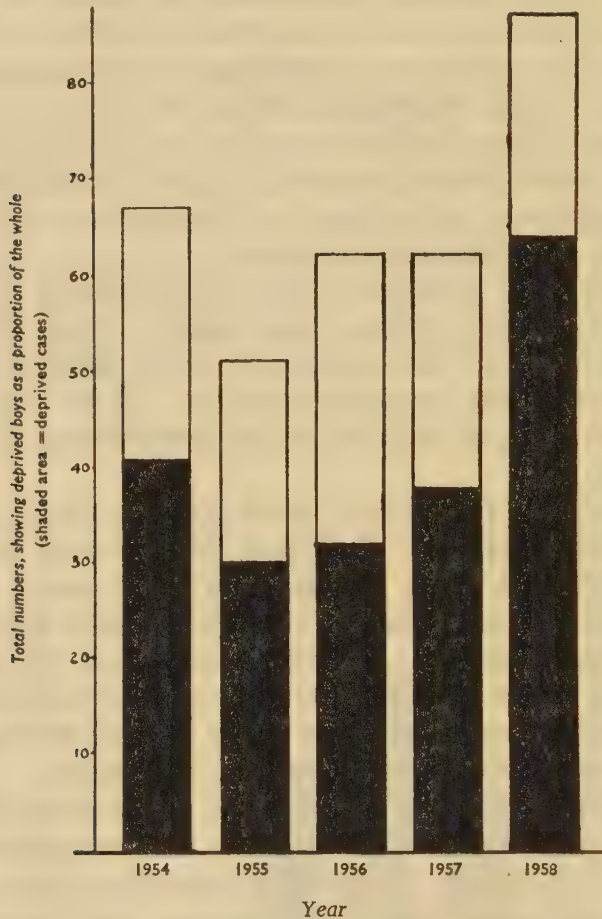


FIG. III. DEPRIVATION AND THE REMANDED BOY, 1954-1958.

These figures are very significant and confirm the undoubted influence of family dissolution, complete or partial, on the developing child whose reaction may include delinquent behaviour. The wisdom of splitting any home, even a bad home, must thus be carefully weighed and the present strong drive to preserve unity at any cost supported. However, in many cases inevitable factors split

the family, *e.g.*, death, serious illness, extreme incompatibility or irredeemable fecklessness of one or both parents.

To estimate the material state of a home is very difficult if a personal visit cannot be made. I visited a small number of boys' homes and in other cases probation officers' reports were accepted. Personal standards vary so much that these are not findings which can be accepted as trustworthy. Only 3 per cent. of the boys came from homes of undoubtedly high material standards, while 27 per cent. came from homes which were clearly of inferior standard. The majority came from "average" homes, and the term "average" conveys a wide variation in standard not to be interpreted as necessarily adequate.

Similarly, to judge parental attitude is difficult. I met few parents personally and depended on the assessment of the superintendent and/or probation officers whose opinions varied even from visit to visit. A parent who seemed at first sound and concerned with his child's predicament might only be adopting a shield for his real indifference. A majority of parents (68 per cent.) could only be classified as "indifferent"; they were not unduly alarmed by their sons' remand and did not appreciate their own responsibility in this situation. Another attitude commonly exhibited by the indifferent parent was that of outraged condemnation. Good parents (11 per cent.) were, unfortunately, rare and poor parents (21 per cent.) more common.

Parental influence on the child is strong and persistent; it is harmful when it condones wrong-doing and anti-social behaviour. It was reassuring to find that parental delinquency was only recorded in twenty-nine cases, while other siblings had delinquent records in fifty-two cases, and in ten cases some other person in the family had a criminal record and could have exerted influence on the boys surveyed.

The number of parents, siblings or other persons with delinquent records is not an accurate measure of the true prevalence of malbehaviour in such persons. Many criminal acts escape detection, while people who commit no such acts themselves may inspire other persons, especially children, to commit them. In some homes the honest child is considered abnormal and his conduct earns ridicule,

even physical assault, until his moral spirit is broken and he acquires the demanded family attitude towards petty larceny, ill speech and immorality. Too often, honesty is mistaken for weakness and moral behaviour for effeminacy.

Physical Health

The influence of physical health on social behaviour is undeniable. Of the boys examined (334) 54 per cent. had no physical defect and only 3.5 per cent. presented an unsatisfactory physique—a very low incidence. The position regarding visual defect was less satisfactory; 13 per cent. had significant defects, *i.e.*, defects which were either disfiguring, *e.g.*, strabismus, and/or a definite handicap, *e.g.*, visual acuity less than 6/18 in both eyes. Minor visual defects, *e.g.*, acuity less than 6/6 in one or both eyes, were very common. Glasses had often been prescribed in the past but had been lost or broken and thereafter never replaced. Boys were rarely aware of even severe limitation of visual acuity. Defects of the ears involved 4 per cent. of the boys surveyed, usually impaired hearing in one or both ears consequent on a neglected chronic otitis media. A few cases of high-tone deafness with an associated speech defect were recognised. Two boys were deaf. Nearly 25 per cent. of the boys presented some other physical defect of significant degree, *e.g.*, marked dental caries, skin lesions, hernia, maldescended testes, paraphimosis, orthopaedic defects, etc. 13 per cent. of the boys had multiple defects. An alarming feature of the physical defects discovered was the chronicity of many of them. These defects must have been previously observed by clinicians, and yet they had escaped correction, becoming less susceptible to resolution by treatment, in many cases preventing the full participation of a boy in life and in some cases constituting clearly important factors in his descent into delinquent behaviour.

Some cases with physical defects had been previously diagnosed and adequate steps initiated for essential treatment. Failure had then occurred for two main reasons:

- (1) Slow hospital admission and poor follow-up of non-attenders.
- (2) Sheer resistance, or fecklessness, on the part of the boy or his parents in accepting necessary treatment.

It was a rule of the superintendent, and one to which I willingly acceded, that treatment should be arranged or instituted in as many cases as possible. I must acknowledge my debt to many consultants in the Swansea area who, when advised of the circumstances of the case, saw boys at short notice and often arranged immediate or early admission to hospital. Their ready co-operation was inspiring and favourably influenced the prognosis of a number of the boys. The local juvenile bench were also most understanding in their support for this essential treatment. They wisely appreciated the effect of physical defects on the boys concerned and realised that with better (full) physical health their social rehabilitation was much more likely.

Mental Health

The intellectual assessment of boys remanded was based on interview, intelligence testing, especially in probable cases of superior or inferior intellect, school work in the remand home and general adaptation to life. Of cases which were fully investigated only 5.5 per cent. were found to be of superior intellect, *i.e.*, with an I.Q. of at least 120, but 15 per cent. were intellectually defective, *i.e.*, with an I.Q. under seventy, while a further 31 per cent. had an I.Q. of between seventy and ninety. A majority (48.5 per cent.) of the boys were considered of average intelligence, having an estimated or tested I.Q. of between 90 and 120.

The 5.5 per cent. of superior intellectual types correlated well with the 4.6 per cent. of grammar school boys but, in fact, the association was not inevitable; some highly intelligent boys (of adequate age) were not attending grammar schools, while others of relatively poor intellectual capacity were.

At the other end of the intellectual scale, 15 per cent. of boys were intellectually defective and a majority of these should have been benefiting from special educational treatment—in fact only 3.9 per cent. of these boys were being so educated. This is a significant finding which indicates that an important group of boys, often with many other potential or developed handicaps, are not receiving the type of education most likely to assure their interest and co-operation. Some of these boys were suffering in a, to them, hostile or

uncomfortable educational environment, probably an influence in the initiation and furtherance of their delinquent behaviour.

Most boys tested in detail yielded an intelligence quotient considerably higher than their scholastic attainment would suggest. A vicious-circle phenomenon appears to occur—a boy of limited ability struggles for a long time before falling behind his more fortunate class-mates; becoming adverse to learning he resents scholastic authority, attempts to flourish in other ways and finally attains a reputation for being considerably duller than is really the case. The above-average and the average pupil are educated in an atmosphere which usually stimulates at least an optimum performance on their part. The below-average pupil receives no such stimulus and consistently see himself unfavourably compared with pupils of greater inherent ability. It is no wonder that in many schools the better improve and the poor worsen—this process for the retarded pupil can be countered in the special school or the special class of an ordinary school, but many pupils escape such aid. Delinquency is sometimes a result of such educational failures.

Intellectual ability strongly influences the child's mental health and is itself stimulated or depressed or coloured by emotional development and stability. Emotion and intellect are inseparable variables, the interaction of which nurtures a fantastic variety of response. The emotional reactions of boys in this survey were judged on their past, personal and social behaviour as well as on their relationships and conduct in the remand home. Over 50 per cent. of the boys were judged to be stable persons. But 8 per cent. were severely emotionally disturbed and in need of active, long-term psychiatric treatment. The residue, 42 per cent., gave evidence of emotional disturbance requiring expert advice and in some cases short-term treatment. Such widespread evidence of emotional disturbance, apart from delinquency, which is itself usually considered indicative of emotional instability, is a significant finding which suggests that pre-delinquent manifestations of emotional disturbance demand prompt attention. Treatment must be instituted at an early stage when it can be simply administered and offers a good chance of cure or control.

Discussion

The object of this paper was to report personal experience of remanded boys over a period of five years. Consideration of this experience stresses the importance of some facets of the study of these boys. In some respects they are factors which influence delinquent behaviour; in others they are early symptoms of emotional disturbance, one of the later manifestations of which may be delinquent behaviour. Many of these factors can be prevented, others mitigated in part, but some, regrettably, seem incapable of resolution.

The educational aspects are of undoubted importance. Often boys had a poor attendance record long before they developed overt delinquent tendencies, and had this symptom been promptly and thoroughly investigated upon its appearance, much delinquent behaviour might have been prevented. The causes of bad attendance are multiple, the significant few demand careful consideration by school authorities. In some areas of the country they are treated with the promptitude and care which they demand; in others, truancy, persistent or occasional, seems to be almost completely ignored. This was noticeable in the survey which investigated boys coming from a variety of local education authorities; the concern and interest of some compared favourably with the unconcern and indifference of others. In some cases poor attendance would be followed up by the school attendance officer, who often offered sound advice as to its cause and way of correction, but no action would result and the child would continue to attend school irregularly. His teachers were seemingly little concerned and perhaps relieved to see the back of a difficult pupil. The question of school attendance is one which seems easy of solution, although I do not consider prosecution an adequate answer to the majority of cases.

The other important feature concerning education which emerged from this survey was that, however much care is taken by education authorities—and a great deal of care is taken by most authorities today—too many square pegs are still forced to sit in round holes. The survey revealed ample evidence of boys attempting to survive in an educational environment which was quite unsuitable for their intellectual equipment. Poor attendance sometimes originated from the despair which boys felt because of academic difficulties. In

many areas, while the educationally subnormal pupil may be recognised, virtually nothing is done to see that he receives the type of education most suitable to his ability. The converse also holds—a surprising number of boys of average or above average intelligence had over a period of years been allowed to consider themselves as backward pupils and were working in an educational atmosphere which provided no stimulus to their latent ability. Frequently the assessment provided by teachers bore little relation to that obtained from a detailed investigation of a boy's intelligence, and while there are many reasons why two such points of view should not always tally exactly, it was disappointing to see how often they showed alarmingly wide variation. Where boys from the Swansea area had a detailed investigation of their intelligence, and a discrepancy between this and the assessment of the teacher was revealed, a personal visit to the school concerned was often of great value in assuring that the boy would have more adequate help from his school if and when he was allowed to return. Where, however, pupils came from more distant authorities, this personal approach was, of course, not possible. Such an approach seems well worth consideration where the future of a boy's whole life may be at stake. A sheaf of written reports is of less value than a meeting between those persons who know the boy and are concerned with his future welfare.

The last aspect of educational influences on delinquency which bears mention is in that small group of boys who in their best interests should be allowed to leave school prior to the normal school leaving age. This seems to be a most difficult manoeuvre to execute, and yet again, if a boy's whole future life is at stake, surely it is worth while breaking a few rules.

The next factor in delinquency which must be stressed is that of deprivation. Its influence either in causing delinquent behaviour or in sustaining such behaviour was very strongly confirmed in the survey. The type of deprivation varies greatly but the absence of the father and/or mother from the home, or alternatively, the removal of the child from the home for a prolonged period because of ill health, or for some other reason, was recorded so repeatedly in these cases that the high correlation between deprivation and delinquency cannot be doubted.

The study of individual case records reveals many which are strikingly pathetic in this period under survey, so many years after the original Curtis Report. It seems, with the best will in the world, there is still an inestimable amount to be done to improve the care of the deprived child. I had many contacts with children's homes and foster parents, and for the most part I can only have the greatest regard for the quality of their work, but we have obviously not yet solved the problem of deprivation, if it is ever capable of complete solution.

A certain number of boys, while not suffering from deprivation in the home, came from homes in which one or other of the parents, or other members of the family group, had exhibited delinquent behaviour, and it is fair to admit that in many of such homes a strong stimulus was exerted on the child to behave dishonestly. Exactly what approach can be taken in such homes it is difficult to know. A few boys were encountered who had a strong family tradition of succession through probation and the remand home to approved school. One or two discussed the merits of approved schools as if they were comparing education at Eton or Winchester, and it seemed almost impossible to bring any sense to bear on their attitude. This type of boy must be considered a hard-core delinquent, coming from families in which there were often no other causes for delinquent behaviour—except the strong family record of such behaviour.

The last aspect which I should like to reiterate is one which produced less correlation with delinquency than had originally been anticipated—the health of the child. Many children had physical defects, often treatment was initiated while they were remanded. In a few cases there was no doubt that the physical defect was the prime factor in the child turning to delinquency, and this causative factor was particularly underlined by one or two case histories. In some cases physical defects were beyond correction and in at least one case they were unfortunately the result of ill-directed or incompetent surgery.

The mental health of the boys was carefully considered. Intelligence has already been considered, when educational aspects were discussed. At the lower end of the scale was a small group of boys who were subnormal or severely subnormal, and who could not be

expected to exist under the influences to which many of them had been subjected, without slipping into delinquent behaviour. When a moral influence was exerted on such boys their response was immediate and strong.

The maladjusted boy provides a considerable problem, and in considering such cases I must express my gratitude to Dr. Cross who took every opportunity of investigating boys who were referred to him. Many boys required lengthy psychiatric investigation and treatment, and in others it was difficult to relate their maladjustment and their delinquent behaviour. Some who were admitted to the remand home with a record of mal-behaviour and emotional disturbance appeared to be stable, well-behaved boys of average intelligence. Others who were admitted with no indication that they were disturbed appeared under the microscope of study in a remand home to be more or less seriously disturbed children in urgent need of medical care.

One point which most clearly emerges from the survey is the necessity to remand boys accused of delinquent behaviour to a residential home for a full investigation. Where a boy's future is concerned, no effort is too great to assure that every possible causative factor is considered, any defect capable of correction treated and any preventive measure likely to be of value instituted. The remand home, which has an experienced superintendent, preferably an educationalist, an experienced clinician, the services of an educational psychologist and a psychiatrist, seems to offer the best chances of providing the Juvenile Bench with reports which will allow them to take the best possible steps to safeguard a boy's future.

PSYCHIATRIC SOCIAL WORK IN A BOYS' REMAND HOME¹

HERSCHEL PRINS (*London*)

Introduction

NOT a great deal seems to have been written about casework in delinquency residential settings in this country. Elkan, Tilley and Rowe,² however, have described some aspects of this work. In the present paper, something will be said about the role and function of a psychiatric social worker in a specialised kind of institution, which in some respects could be regarded as a residential diagnostic clinic for juvenile offenders. In addition, some of the problems arising out of this work will be discussed, and some comments made on future possibilities.

The Setting

Stamford House is the Boys' Remand Home for the Metropolitan juvenile court area; it also occasionally serves one or two courts in the Home Counties. Younger boys (under ten as a rule) are usually remanded to one of the children's reception centres. Since January 1958, Stamford House has also been an approved school classifying centre for all boys committed by the Metropolitan juvenile courts. At any one time there might be well over a hundred boys awaiting placement or disposal. One consultant psychiatrist and two registrars attended regularly, and registrars in training came for varying

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¹ Any opinions expressed in this paper are personal, and are not necessarily representative of former colleagues at Stamford House, the Home Office or the London County Council.

² Irmi Elkan, "Interviews with Neglectful Parents," *British Journal of Psychiatric Social Work*, Vol. 3, No. 3; "Psychiatric Social Work in a Children's Reception Centre," *British Journal of Psychiatric Social Work*, Vol. 8, November 1959; Irmi Elkan and H. G. Williams, "The Place of a Psychiatric Unit in a Children's Reception Centre," *British Journal of Psychiatric Social Work*, October 1954; M. Tilley, "Case Work with the Anti-Social Client," *British Journal of Psychiatric Social Work*, Spring 1955, and Jane Rowe, "The Resident Case Worker," *Child Care*, Vol. 15, No. 2, April 1961.

periods for forensic experience. There were also two full time educational psychologists. This constituted a strong psychiatric team for a residential establishment of this kind.

Diagnosis Under Pressure

The most important function of the psychiatric unit was to provide psychiatric reports for the courts. Different courts referred boys for different reasons—the number of offences, the unusual character of the offence, or simply that someone was baffled by the boy's behaviour. Of a sample of 120 boys remanded for psychiatric examination between January and November 1958, the number of their previous offences, admitted or proved, was as follows:

No previous	35
One previous	40
Two previous	28
Three previous	11
Four or more	6

The number of "first offenders" (thirty-five) is high, but most of these had a prolonged history of other behaviour disturbances, either before or associated with the present offence. This seemed to be an important reason for requesting reports. The number of boys with one previous offence suggests that it was at the second court appearance that the court tended to seek further advice. Occasionally the "team" were asked to see a very small number of boys on bail and this matter will be referred to again. A psychiatric report was also provided on all boys committed to an approved school awaiting classification. Coupled with and, ideally, inseparable from the function of providing psychiatric reports, the psychiatric team could also provide a useful diagnostic and advisory service for probation officers and other caseworkers in cases presenting special difficulty. However, the overriding factor was that of speed. In remand cases, the reports usually had to be provided in fourteen or at most twenty-one days. This imposed strains, not only on the team itself, but on the administrative and clerical staff, particularly at times of high pressure when one might be asked to provide more than thirty diagnostic reports in one week. This

created a "sausage machine" situation, which occasionally precluded the thorough study of each case which is required for a really useful psychiatric report.

Casework with the Parents

Appointments were offered to all parents of boys remanded for psychiatric reports (unless they had already been seen) and to parents of boys committed to an approved school in order that we might add to our knowledge of the boy and assess the amount of help these parents could give or might need whilst the boy was undergoing training. Time and distance made home visiting impracticable, and such visits had usually been made by the probation officer. If we were asked to provide a report on a boy who lived a long way off, we wrote to the parents asking them their views about the reasons for the boy's difficulties and what they felt would be best for his future. The answers they gave were often very revealing and worthy of careful study; contact by letter can be an important aspect of casework in this particular setting. Sometimes letters had surprising results. One mother who lived in the far North of England replied that she "was not much good on paper" and took the next train south to see us. This interview was very helpful, since it was learned that the mother herself had had a very deprived childhood and continually tried to offset the father's alleged over-strictness by her excessive indulgence. In another case a mother travelled up from the west of England to see us.

In this particular setting, we were entirely dependent upon the client's willingness to come and see us. This is the reverse of the caseworker's role in many authoritarian and delinquency settings where it is possible to go out and meet one's clients. If this was borne in mind, it was easier to deal with one's own hostile feelings towards parents who arrived very late or who failed to come at all. However, there were times when one felt considerably frustrated by not being "in charge" of the situation and unable to meet clients on their own territory. In addition, in work of this kind, it was necessary to watch out for hostile feelings towards parents who appeared to have grossly mismanaged their children, or had been markedly unsympathetic towards them. On these occasions, one

was reminded of Margaret Tilley's feelings of "counter-aggression"³ towards these persons in authority who had badly handled some of her clients. The case of Mrs. "A" illustrates some of these difficulties. She had a very bad reputation amongst many local social workers for her lack of co-operation and it was felt she was very unlikely to keep her appointment at the remand home. However, she arrived, but several hours late and just as I was about to leave. I knew that if I reacted in a hostile way towards her I would only be reacting as others had done. However, I let her know that her usual pattern of behaviour had been recognised but accepted: "I expect you were late because you had a job to find your way here, but I'm very pleased you've been able to come to see me about the boy." It was then possible to have a very profitable interview with her; as she was leaving she said: "It's been most helpful having been able to talk to you—I thought you wouldn't see me, or be very cross because I came so late."

In a casework situation of this kind where much had to be made of each contact, however brief, the telephone could be a valuable aid. Parents were normally asked to 'phone if the appointment given them was inconvenient. A number of them 'phoned in order to change the time or date, and one could often sense from the telephone conversation that their real anxiety was about the nature of the interview at the remand home. On two occasions, although mothers could not bring themselves to face us directly it was possible to have a prolonged telephone conversation with them and take almost a complete "history." One tried to be as accommodating as possible, particularly if the mother was the sole supporter of the family, but quite a number of parents would have liked an all-night service commencing at 7 p.m.! Some sympathetic recognition of the parents' anxiety on the phone, *e.g.*, "I expect you're very worried about John . . ." would often enable the parent to face the interview and what may have begun as a hostile unwillingness to keep the appointment was transformed into something more like gracious acquiescence.

The psychiatric social worker's primary function was to attempt an assessment of the parental attitude to the boy and/or his offence

³ See note 2, *supra*, "Case Work with the Anti-Social Client."

and to take a detailed history. As one would expect, the parent's attitude was often determined by his or her own early experiences, and it was helpful to concentrate quite a lot on these in cases where the parent was able to discuss them.

The formal history taking was very similar to that done in any non-forensic clinic, except that it all had to be done at one interview instead of developing over several. This tended unavoidably to overweight the interview with fact finding. The probation officer's report sometimes gave little early developmental history. It was well known that in delinquency work the presence of such symptoms as enuresis, early wandering, history of long early separations, etc., is often of important prognostic significance. Missing clues could often be discovered. One boy was remanded for reports on account of what seemed to be a baffling truancy. Inquiry revealed that "dad" wasn't "dad" at all. The boy had suspected this for some time, but mother had missed some of the warning signs: "Dad and I don't look much alike, do we. . . ?" In another case, a boy was referred for cycle stealing. Superficially, the home seemed stable and respectable, but a detailed history revealed that his birth had not only been unwanted (he was illegitimate), but precipitate, and he had received a severe head injury which had resulted in fits. The mother's guilt over his conception had led to over-indulgence which brought about constant rows with the father over disciplinary matters. This case is mentioned in particular, because it is comparatively rare to find that organic factors (such as head injury) are of significance in the causation of delinquency.

A number of mothers appear either to have attempted to abort the child in question, or to have had abortive wishes; falls "down stairs" or "off a chair" were of course significant indications. The fact that so many of these boys seemed to have exhibited some form of behaviour disturbance over a long period emphasises the need for effective preventive measures; the possibility of implementing some of these is referred to elsewhere.⁴

⁴ "Juvenile Offenders and the Law: Retrospect and Prospect," *Case Conference*, Vol. 5, No. 6, November 1958; "Some Comments on Delinquent Boys and Their Families," *Case Conference*, Vol. 6, No. 6, November 1959.

Short Term Forensic Case Work

The normal procedure was that the psychiatric social worker saw the parents, and the psychiatrist the child, but sometimes the social worker also saw the boy in the company of his parents for a short while. Occasionally, scenes of mutual greeting in the waiting room were very revealing. One very mother-tied, immature thirteen-year-old positively bounded into his mother's lap, and sat there for the whole of their reunion like some affectionate small puppy. Short-term diagnostic casework can of course be of some therapeutic value. Many parents were hostile towards the courts and their officers.⁵ This hostility was often clearly connected with their early experiences at the hands of their own parents or other authority figures. It was not always easy to work through these feelings in one interview, particularly as the primary aim was to obtain a certain amount of factual information. It was found that a very informal, friendly approach seemed to work best, and personally I was not averse to calling mother "Mum" or father "Dad" if I felt this was going to make the interview more fruitful. Many of these parents had experienced a good deal of criticism in the past, or many of them anticipated criticism of their handling of their children when they came to the remand home. What Margaret Tilley says of her clients⁶ is equally applicable to many of the parents I saw: "Previously, they may have met with concern and indignation directed towards their behaviour, but they received little attention themselves as people who matter." This seemed particularly true of parents who themselves had a deprived childhood. Mrs. "B"'s parents separated after a good many years of quarrelling. Her mother had always belittled her in front of her siblings, and when the marriage finally broke up Mrs. "B" was sent to a children's home. Here, she found it difficult to keep up with the other girls, began to feel increasingly inadequate, and had a thoroughly unhappy time. Eventually, she went into "service," and whilst only quite a young girl, found herself pregnant by the man she subsequently married. Mr. "B" was an irresponsible and work-shy person who left his wife to cope unaided with their large family. She became increas-

⁵ See Dr. P. D. Scott, "Juvenile Courts: The Juvenile's Point of View," *Brit.J.Delinq.* 9, No. 3, 1959, and P. M. W. Voelcker, "Juvenile Courts: The Parents' Point of View," *Brit.J.Criminology*, Vol. 1, No. 2, 1960.

⁶ *Supra.*

ingly despondent, and soon acquired a reputation as an inadequate and incompetent mother. It was clear when I saw her that she needed someone who would recognise and accept her inadequacy, yet give her some encouragement for the good work she had undoubtedly done. This seemed to be a very helpful experience for her, and she was able to talk at length about her early experiences and her relationship with her mother. A subsequent discussion with the social worker involved in the case enabled him to take a more informed view of her difficulties.

Sometimes, a parent's apparent hostility to authority figures was really a symptom of a serious illness hitherto unrecognised. Mr. "C" had a thoroughly bad reputation in the neighbourhood as an aggressive, unfriendly, difficult man. When we had his eldest son at the remand home for reports, we feared he would not come to see us, or, if he came, he would cause a very unpleasant scene. When I met him in the waiting room, I shook him warmly by the hand, and told him how nice I thought it was of him to come and see us. This seemed to take him thoroughly by surprise, and he followed me to my room quite happily. It did not take long to see that many of his views and attitudes were distinctly paranoid in nature, and that he was in need of skilled psychiatric help. In such cases one could sometimes act in a "specialist" capacity to other social workers and show them that what may have been seen as merely difficult behaviour was in fact an indication of serious mental disturbance. On other occasions, one could sometimes help the parents accept the court's decision to send the boy away as the best plan for his own good.

Collaboration with other Caseworkers

One was often concerned about how far one should let an interview develop, or how far one should attempt to deal with highly charged emotional material. In general, my own relationship with these parents remained at a fairly surface level. What one needed to bear in mind was that another caseworker would probably have to take over from where we had left off. When highly emotional material did emerge in the course of the interview, and it was felt that to deal with it would help the future handling of the case, one generally asked the parents if one might discuss the matter with the other

caseworker concerned. Mrs. "D" illustrates this kind of problem. She had been married three times, and on each occasion her marriage had ended in divorce. Her two sons had both been highly delinquent, and I had the impression that she was the kind of woman who had to "destroy" her menfolk. Although there was no previous evidence, I suspected that she had suffered some early traumatic experience at the hands of a man. When I asked her if this might be the case, she looked relieved, much less tense, and told me that her stepfather had tried to rape her when she was very young. This event had certainly left a grievous mark upon her personality, and I felt she was in need of psychiatric aid. With her consent, the matter was discussed with the caseworker concerned and specialist help sought for her. In making what one regarded as a surface diagnosis, one was looking essentially for pointers to the underlying difficulty, rather than attempting a deep understanding of the difficulty itself. To explore too deeply would be exceeding one's brief, and in most cases it would probably be disturbing and unhelpful to the parent. However, if a parent was in a very anxious state, and needed to unburden him or herself, then one felt obliged to accept this need and deal with it as best one could.

The Problem of Professional Discretion

The question of discretion was an important and difficult one. Parents often provided highly confidential information which one might pass on to the psychiatrist, who would be discreet in using it in the court report. It was usually explained to the parent that it was important for us to know certain facts in order to understand the boy more adequately, but that it was not essential for the court to know all the *details*. Such confidence must be respected fully. One also had to remember that, in accordance with the provisions of the Children and Young Persons Act,⁷ the parent might be informed of anything in the report that affected his character, or would directly influence the court's decision regarding the boy's future. Problems of professional discretion often arose when one was working with others who were not specially trained as caseworkers. Thus, the information obtained during the diagnostic

⁷ Summary Jurisdiction Rules, 1933, s. 11 (4).

study for the court report could not be made entirely available when a boy went to an approved school. It was often difficult for administrative members of staff to appreciate one's reluctance to send on information that might not be of *immediate* concern to those handling the boy. One felt that information obtained in the course of a confidential interview with the parents for the purpose of making a psychiatric diagnosis for the court, although it might be of *interest* to the approved school staff, might not always be discreetly handled. However, a very few schools now have their own psychiatric social worker to whom one can more confidently send on information, and it may well be that as time goes by a few more psychiatric social workers will be attached to approved schools so that the link will be more personal.⁸ However, a twofold attempt to compromise over some of these difficulties was made. First, a comprehensive report on the boy was made by the psychiatrist, who embodied the essential points from the interview with the parents. (Although *he* may have a degree of privilege as a medical man, even he could not lay claim to this in a court of law.) Secondly, the psychiatric social worker could contribute to the weekly "classifying meetings" verbal comments about the home, which might be taken into account in considering allocation, but which need not necessarily have been committed to paper. However, there was little doubt that members of staff who were not caseworkers sometimes felt that one might be withholding information unnecessarily. This occasionally added to the feeling that there was some "mystique" about our job. It was possible to put forward our point of view to some extent, and, generally speaking, it was accepted reasonably well. In addition, other members of the "assessment" team usually looked to the psychiatric social worker for advice and guidance in such matters as the degree of parental co-operation to be expected, or whether the boy would be better near his home or farther off.

Consultation

Other caseworkers were apt to expect one to produce results with parents where they felt they had failed. The implication here was

⁸ For an account of the case-worker's role in an American setting, see: Selma Fraiberg, "Some Aspects of Residential Case-Work With Children," *Social Case Work*, April 1956.

that the psychiatric social worker in this setting employed some "magical" process that would turn informants of poor metal into pure gold. Occasionally, one heard remarks like: "But you will be able to assess the parents better than me," or, "Could you let me know what you *found out* when you saw the parents?" Less experienced caseworkers sometimes became anxious if they felt they had not "extracted" enough information from the parents. It was important to help them to cope with this anxiety lest they became discouraged. Pressure of work prevented one from spending as much time as one would have liked in consultation with other casework colleagues. This was an important aspect of the work and might usefully have been developed.

Summary and Future Possibilities

The main features of this kind of forensic casework are summarised as follows: First, it could be described as a highly specialised form of child guidance setting within an authoritarian institutional framework dependent upon legal sanctions. Secondly, the work was diagnostic, short-term and advisory. Thirdly, because one was providing psychiatric information for a variety of people, including lay magistrates, the reports had to be couched in non-technical terms and be easily understandable if they were to be of any value at all. Recommendations had to be realistic and take into account the known possibilities rather than the ideal. In addition problems of professional discretion were particularly acute.

If there were better facilities, there seems little doubt that a number of boys who are at present remanded in custody could be seen on bail. In this way, one might be able to develop an "out-patient" service at the larger remand homes.⁹ This would probably necessitate an increase in the number of psychiatric personnel, but it would help to relieve the overcrowding of those boys at present remanded in custody. It would also help to relieve the pressure on those clinics which are now asked to see boys on bail, and which may lack the facilities for making reports at speed or the specialised forensic experience required. Other developments might lie in the

⁹ See also: Dr. P. D. Scott, "Assessing the Offender for the Courts: The Role of the Psychiatrist," *Brit.J.Criminology*, Vol. 1, No. 2, 1960.

promotion of more staff consultation and discussion, and the fostering of research into the causes of juvenile crime and the connection between delinquent behaviour and family relationships. Finally, if the consultative and research aspects of the work were developed, such institutions could become useful training grounds for students in the criminological field.

CURRENT SURVEY

RESEARCH AND METHODOLOGY

CURRENT RESEARCH LXXVII

(Continued from Vol. II, p. 53)

SUSPENDED SENTENCES IN ISRAEL

(1) *Name of University Department, Hospital or other Institution or private person supplying the information:* The Israel Society of Criminology.

(2) *Subject of Research:* A follow-up study of 3,500 offenders sentenced in 1955-56 to suspended terms of imprisonment with the intention of testing some basic hypotheses as to:

- (a) the factors determining "success" or "failure" regarding the conditions attached to the suspension of imprisonment;
- (b) the boundaries and presumable efficacy of the deterrent factor in suspended sentences of imprisonment;
- (c) the sentencing policy of criminal courts in Israel concerning the use of suspended sentences.

Method:

Statistical analysis of data accumulated from the court files and the Central Criminal Registration Office dealing with the offenders

- (a) demographic factors;
- (b) previous criminal history;
- (c) type and severity of offences committed in the follow-up period.

The link of all these three groups of variables with "success" and "failure" has subsequently been determined in order to construe a prognostic device to predict the "success" and "failure" of offenders sentenced to suspended terms of imprisonment.

(3) *Under whose auspices is the research being carried out?*

- (a) Dr. Shlomo Shoham, Senior Lecturer in Criminology, Bar-Ilan University, Ramat Gan, Israel.
- (b) Mr. Moshe Sandberg, Lecturer in Statistics, The Hebrew University, Jerusalem, Israel.

(4) *Commenced:* May 1960. *Completion expected:* August 1961.

(5) *Publication:* No publication so far.

RESEARCH AND METHODOLOGY

CURRENT RESEARCH LXXVIII

THE CRIMINAL BEHAVIOUR OF "HOSPITAL" PSYCHOPATHS

(1) *Name of University Department, Hospital or other Institution or private person supplying the information:* Institute of Psychiatry, London.

(2) *Subject of Research:* A study of the previous and subsequent criminal record of mental hospital in-patients diagnosed as psychopaths or neurotics, and its relation to symptoms and personality.

(3) *Under whose auspices is the research being carried out?* Institute of Psychiatry, London. *Research worker:* Dr. Briscoe, under direction of Dr. T. C. N. Gibbens, Institute of Psychiatry, London.

(4) *Commenced:* May 1961. *Completion expected:* 1962.

(5) *Publication:* No results so far published.

CURRENT RESEARCH LXXIX

An inquiry into the social, economic and psychological problems of the families and dependants of men serving terms of imprisonment in England and Wales.

(1) *Name of University Department, Hospital or other Institution or private person supplying the information:* PEP (Political and Economic Planning) 16 Queen Anne's Gate, London, S.W.1.

(2) *Subject of Research:* An assessment of the social, economic and psychological needs and problems of the families of men in prison and a critical analysis of the ways in which they are met. The research will be in two parts: (a) a longitudinal panel study to trace the development of these factors over time, and, for comparative purposes, this will include a small number of families in which the man has been placed on probation; (b) an extensive descriptive survey based on a national sample. In both cases first offenders, recidivists and civil prisoners will be included.

(3) *Under whose auspices is the research being carried out?:* PEP. Financed by two private Trusts. Senior Research Officer: Mrs. Pauline Morris, Research Assistant: Mr. M. Wheeler.

(4) *Commenced:* June 1961. *Completion expected:* May 1964.

(5) *Publication:* No results so far published.

COMPANIONSHIP AT DELINQUENCY ONSET

THOMAS G. EYNON AND WALTER C. RECKLESS
The Ohio State University

THE time seems to be ripe for a revisionist statement with regard to the companionship factor in juvenile delinquency. All of us are aware that Thrasher¹ made the first systematic sociological study of the boys' gang in the United States and that recently Yablonsky² has pointed out that the gang partakes of the attributes of a "near group," something akin to a mob. Prior to Yablonsky, Whyte³ and Cohen⁴ attempted to identify the value orientation of the street corner groups in slums of American cities, which orientation Cohen calls "delinquency subculture." Miller maintained that "during the age period from twelve to nineteen, the dominant set of influences on the behaviour of members of lower-class adolescent groups derive from the group's conception of prestige-conferring behaviour and valued objectives. At this age, intrafamily relations and standards of behaviour set by parents have relatively little direct influence on the adolescent's day-to-day behaviour."⁵

More recently, Bloch and Niederhoffer related gang behaviour and organisation of American urban youth to the absence of a definitive role structure in urban society, which readily enables youth to assume adult roles in life.⁶ In a more elaborate theoretical scheme, Cloward and Ohlin explain gang behaviour and delinquency subculture in terms of the attribution of legitimacy toward illegal means and the discrepancy between aspiration and opportunity in American urban slum areas.⁷

These contributions have added greatly to sociological knowledge and theory about juvenile delinquency. However, they have not precisely come to grips with the role of companionship in the aetiology of delinquent behaviour. Very little has been done with the companionship factor *per se*

¹ Frederic M. Thrasher, *The Gang: A Study of 1,313 Gangs in Chicago*, Chicago, 1927.

² Lewis Yablonsky, "The Delinquent Gang as a Near-Group," *Social Problems*, Fall 1959, No. 2, pp. 108-117.

³ William Foote Whyte, *Street Corner Society*, Chicago, 1943.

⁴ Albert K. Cohen, *Delinquent Boys: The Culture of the Gang*, Glencoe, Illinois, 1955, pp. 17, 25-30, 128-133.

⁵ Walter B. Miller, "Preventive Work with Street-Corner Groups: Boston Delinquency Project," *The Annals of the American Academy of Political and Social Science*, March 1959, Vol. 322, p. 98.

⁶ Herbert Bloch and Arthur Niederhoffer, *The Gang: A Study in Adolescent Behaviour*, New York, 1958.

⁷ Richard A. Cloward and Lloyd E. Ohlin, *Delinquency and Opportunity*, Glencoe, Illinois, 1960; also Richard A. Cloward, "Illegitimate Means, Anomie, and Deviant Behavior," *American Sociological Review*, April 1959, Vol. 24, No. 2, pp. 164-176.

since the illuminating work of Clifford Shaw.⁸ He pointed out, *inter alia*, that the overwhelming majority of boys who had been taken to the Chicago Juvenile Court in 1928 for delinquency were involved with one or more companions. Twosomes and threesomes were the mode.⁹ He discovered also that within a gang the individual boy's companions in delinquent acts were one or two special boys and that such companionship constituted a sort of closed "criminal fraternity" of usually short duration. The whole gang was not delinquent as a unit but members paired off in twosomes and threesomes in delinquent behaviour.¹⁰ In addition, Shaw attempted to diagram, in the instance of certain boys, the web of interlocking combinations of boys in delinquent deeds, as obtained from the Chicago Juvenile Court records.¹¹ One becomes readily convinced from inspecting his charts that there is a transmission process at work from boy to boy and that boys who have been delinquent are acting as carriers of delinquency infection. However, this approach has not been developed and very little definitive work has been done to illuminate just how the companionship factor operates in delinquency, until the Gluecks' study of 500 delinquent and 500 non-delinquent boys from Boston.

Gluecks Discount Companionship and Gangs

The Gluecks assembled statistical information which showed that 56 per cent. of the delinquents but only 0.6 per cent. of the non-delinquents were members of gangs, 98 per cent. of the delinquents but only 7 per cent. of the non-delinquents had companions who were delinquent, 45 per cent. of the delinquents but only 10 per cent. of the non-delinquents chummed with boys older than themselves.¹² In spite of these findings, the Gluecks, in the final interpretation of their study, turn their backs on the companionship factor as a sort of unmeaningful association. Rather the Gluecks selected

⁸ One can certainly point to the work of William Healy and Augusta Bronner, *New Light on Delinquency and Its Treatment*, New Haven, 1936, pp. 63-64; to B. S. Atwood and E. H. Shideler, "Social Participation and Juvenile Delinquency," *Sociology and Social Research*, 1933-1934, Vol. 18, pp. 436-441; and to the various follow-up studies of Sheldon and Eleanor Glueck: *One Thousand Juvenile Delinquents*, Cambridge, Mass., 1934, pp. 93-94; *Later Criminal Careers*, New York, 1937, pp. 56-57; *Juvenile Delinquents Grown Up*, New York, 1940, p. 12; *Criminal Careers in Retrospect*, New York, 1943, pp. 104-105. Some of the important studies bearing on companionship and antedating Shaw are William Healy, *The Individual Delinquent*, 1915, p. 130; Cyril Burt, *The Young Delinquent*, New York, 1925, p. 125; The Crime Commission of New York State, *Crime and the Community*, Albany, N.Y., 1930, pp. 135-143; Sheldon and Eleanor Glueck, *Five Hundred Criminal Careers*, New York, 1930, p. 127.

⁹ Clifford R. Shaw and Henry D. McKay, "Social Factors in Juvenile Delinquency," National Commission of Law Observance and Enforcement, *Report on the Causes of Crime*, Washington, D.C., 1931, No. 13, Vol. 2, pp. 195-197.

¹⁰ *Ibid.* pp. 200-201.

¹¹ Clifford R. Shaw, *et al.*, *Brothers in Crime*, Chicago, 1938, pp. 109-126.

¹² Sheldon and Eleanor Glueck, *Unravelling Delinquency*, New York, 1950, pp. 163-164.

factors from physique, temperament, emotional attitudes, psychological set, and family dynamics to explain delinquency.¹³

Still more recently, the Gluecks, reworking the data in their study (*Unravelling Juvenile Delinquency*) of 500 delinquents and 500 matched non-delinquents, contend that gang membership and presumably delinquent companionship come too late in the lives of delinquent boys to be considered as an aetiological factor.

"It is also essential for the concept of 'causation' as opposed to the broader and more indefinite 'association' that the phenomena involved be related in temporal sequence. One must avoid the familiar cart-before-the-horse fallacy. Both in *Unravelling* and in the present study we have laid aside traits and factors which did not meet this sequence-in-time test. Thus, as has been pointed out, we have eliminated from consideration the factor membership in gangs as an influence in originating delinquency because we found that, in the vast majority of instances among our delinquents, gang membership occurred after the onset of delinquency and it could not therefore have been causal in the above sense. The onset of persistent delinquency occurred before the age of eight among 48 per cent. of our delinquents, and in the eighth to tenth year in an additional 39 per cent. making a total of almost nine-tenths of the entire group who showed *delinquent tendencies* (italics ours) before the time when the gang 'largely an adolescent phenomenon,' played a part in the life of our boys."¹⁴

The Determination of Onset

In the Gluecks' study of 500 institutionalised Boston delinquents and a matched group of non-delinquents, onset of delinquency was determined by psychiatric interview. Research using a psychiatric interview to determine delinquency onset automatically builds into the research an early delinquency onset, because psychiatric specification of delinquency onset usually points to several kinds of behaviour which are considered symptomatic and goes far beyond those acts which are socially and legally defined as delinquent by society, the police, the courts, and the children themselves.¹⁵

A more realistic way, so far as society is concerned, of determining

¹³ *Ibid.* pp. 281-283.

¹⁴ Sheldon and Eleanor T. Glueck, *Physique and Delinquency*, New York: Harper and Brothers, 1956, pp. 41-42.

¹⁵ There is a growing body of literature which indicates that psychiatric diagnoses are extremely unreliable, that is, that psychiatrists disagree. See: Herman O. Schmidt and C. P. Fanda, "The Reliability of Psychiatric Diagnoses: A New Look," *Journal of Abnormal and Social Psychology*, 1956, 52, pp. 262-267; C. R. Doering and A. F. Raymond, "Reliability of Observations in Psychiatric and Related Characteristics," *American Journal of Orthopsychiatry*, 1934, 4, pp. 249-257; J. H. Masserman and H. T. Carmichael, "Diagnoses and Prognoses in Psychiatry," *Journal of Mental Science*, 1939, 84, pp. 893-946.

delinquency onset is to define it as the age at which the child first did something illegal according to prevailing social and legal norms. This determination of delinquency onset can be uniformly and systematically made in each case and can be checked for reliability. Not only is it possible to obtain a more accurate and "socially real" specification of delinquency onset than the psychiatric one made in the Glueck study but it is also possible to establish companionship involvement of the child at the time of delinquency onset.

In this study it is hypothesised that companionship involvement in male delinquency in the United States is not a delayed accomplishment in child development, following on an average of three years after onset of delinquency as the Gluecks suggest, but it is present in the behavioural situation, no matter whether delinquency onset is early or late.

The Sample

Since the Gluecks used a sample of institutionalised delinquents, we have also taken a sample of boys committed by juvenile courts to a state school for young offenders. The sample is a group of 363 white juvenile delinquents who were admitted for the first time to the Boys' Industrial School at Lancaster, Ohio, from May 16 to October 31, 1958.¹⁶

The sample was representative of the total white B.I.S. population on every dimension for which data were available.¹⁷ However, the sample contains first admissions only so that the interview situation could be controlled. In other words, boys who had been in the institution before and who had been returned were eliminated. This was done to eliminate possible bias in answers from the sophistication of previous institutional experience.¹⁸

¹⁶ The Boys' Industrial School, one of the oldest and largest of its kind in the United States, functions as a correctional school for boys between the ages of twelve and eighteen who are primarily probation violators from the large urbanised counties of Ohio. The average daily inmate population was 811, and the average monthly intake of first admissions was 101 during the period of study. The population is about 70 per cent. White and 30 per cent. Negro. The average length of stay in the institution was three and a half months.

¹⁷ Actually, the total sample size is 518, but 155 Negro first admission delinquents are not included in the present analysis in order to reduce one source of variable complexity.

¹⁸ The median age of admission was 15.7, and the seven most urban out of the eighty-eight counties of Ohio contributed about 50 per cent. of the sample. Three-fourths of the boys had no prior institutional experience, but the median number of contacts with juvenile authorities was 4.5. Over half the boys came from homes with one or both parent(s) missing due to divorce, separation or death. Of the boys coming from broken homes, 37 per cent. were living with their mothers only. Further analysis of the boys' parents revealed that 23 per cent. of the mothers, but 47 per cent. of the fathers had unfavourable comments about them in the social investigation reports made by juvenile court workers. Over half the boys are "middle" children and 5 per cent. are only children. 40 per cent. of the boys had siblings known to the court, generally one or two brothers. 80 per cent. of the boys were nominal Protestants. Over 50 per cent. of the boys appear to

Research Procedure

Two kinds of data were collected: information from the case folder of each boy, and responses of the boys to a questionnaire. The questionnaire was administered exclusively in a weekly group session to all the first admissions who were immediately transferred out of the reception cottage to regular cottages on the campus. The boys in the reception cottage up to this point had been isolated from the rest of the institutional population and from those who the week before had filled out the questionnaire in the reception cottage. It was felt that we held "inmate bias" in responses to the questions in the questionnaire to a minimum. Those boys in the group session who had reading difficulty were interviewed personally; the others were instructed to raise their hands if they were confused, in which case one of the research assistants helped them. The physical arrangements were manipulated so that a minimum of communication between the boys took place. The boys were instructed *not* to sign their names. The wording of the questions in the questionnaire was changed to fit a sixth grade reading level.¹⁹ (A prior check on Stanford Achievement scores indicated that very few of the B.I.S. boys were under sixth grade in reading ability.) The questionnaire was pretested on several groups of B.I.S. boys and revised accordingly.

Two different measures of delinquency emerged from the data: "recorded delinquency," or behaviour recorded by the juvenile court, and "admitted delinquency," or delinquent acts admitted by respondents on the questionnaire.

The two measures of delinquency were analysed in terms of the two dichotomised variables. These variables are defined as follows: (1) early or late age of delinquency onset, *i.e.*, below or above the median age of first occurrence of delinquency; (2) presence or absence of companions at first occurrence of delinquent behaviour.

The data were analysed through a series of association tables containing matrices of the two variables as specified above. Chi-square analysis was

be below ninety (the standard score conversion of the Henmon-Nelson test of Mental Ability) indicating below normal intelligence. About 3 per cent. are classified as intellectually bright. The intelligence level findings are doubtful because the boys are antagonistic to test taking, and the test situation was unfavourable. Further, the Henmon-Nelson test tends to show lower scores than other well-known tests. A more normal distribution would be expected unless it is the dull boys who are processed by the authorities for delinquency. About 86 per cent. of the boys are one or more years behind in school. School retardation indicates how well the boys are operating intellectually and socially in their home community. It does not necessarily mean lower intelligence, but a deviation from normal functioning.

Reasons for commitment to the B.I.S. are generally burglary, auto theft, stealing, truancy and incorrigibility. Property offences account for about three-fourths of the commitments.

¹⁹ This was done by Dr. Edgar Dale, reading level expert, Bureau of Educational Research, The Ohio State University.

deemed suitable as a measure of the probable occurrence or non-occurrence of relationship between the various categories.

Findings: Recorded Delinquency

According to case folder information, the first contact with police or court for delinquency seems to be considerably later than previous studies indicate. Table 1 shows that the median onset age is 13.1 years old. Only 19 per cent. of the sample had contact at age ten or younger. This finding is in sharp contrast to that of the Gluecks, who found delinquency onset before age ten in 90 per cent. of their institutionalised sample.²⁰

Our data show that the onset of delinquent behaviour is associated with companionship since almost three-quarters of our boys were with companions when they committed the act that first brought them to official attention, regardless of early or late starting (Table 2).

Findings: Admitted Delinquency

Since case folder information contained merely the official recording of the onset and companionship at delinquent acts, questionnaire responses were analysed in an attempt to measure delinquency as recalled by the boys themselves—admitted delinquency. The questionnaire administered at point of admission (in the reception cottage of the Boys' Industrial School) contained Short's check list of twenty-four delinquent behaviours.²¹ The boys were asked to indicate the age at which they first did any of these things and whether anyone was with them the first time they committed the act. Test-retest reliability was established for seven of the twenty-four items. Median age at onset and percentage of professed companionship for the seven reliable and frequently admitted (delinquency check list) items are presented in Tables 3 and 4.

The median onset age for committing these admitted delinquent acts ranged from 11.5 years old (take some little thing) to 14.5 years old (buy or drink beer, wine, or liquor outside your home). The percentage of companionship involvement in these reliably reported delinquency items ranged from 56 per cent. (run away from home) to 100 per cent. (gang fight). Our data on onset age, obtained from this systematic check list inventory, *do not* confirm the Gluecks' psychiatric interview findings of onset age, namely, that 90 per cent. of the committed boys started their delinquencies prior to age ten. Of the Ohio boys, prior to age ten, only: (1) 34 per cent. took some 'little thing; (2) 22 per cent. played truant; (3) 14 per cent. ran away from home; (4) 10 per cent. destroyed property; (5) 3 per cent. took part in

²⁰ *Physique and Delinquency*, New York, 1950, pp. 41-42.

²¹ F. Ivan Nye and James F. Short, Jr., "Scaling Delinquent Behavior," *American Sociological Review*, June 1957, Vol. 22, pp. 326-331.

gang fighting; (6) 3 per cent. drove cars without permission; and (7) 2 per cent. bought or drank beer, wine or liquor outside the home.

Our findings indicate that companionship is present at the onset of admitted delinquency, just as it was in officially recorded delinquency. Table 4 shows that companionship is present in varying degrees at the first occurrence of the seven reliably reported delinquent behaviours.

Additional statistical analysis indicates no association between early and late onset and presence or absence of companions at the first occurrence of six of the seven reliably admitted delinquent behaviours. In the case of playing truant from school the first time, it appears that boys who start playing truant early are more likely to have companions with them that first time than boys who start playing truant later.

Implications of the Study

This study has shown that delinquency onset is considerably later than the age found by the psychiatric approach in the Glueck study. We would argue that only when behaviour violates prevailing social and legal norms is delinquency onset "socially real," a social fact, and hence amenable to systematic specification with any degree of reliability.

Our findings also strongly suggest that presence of companions is a major component of male delinquency, regardless of the age of delinquency onset, and as a modality companionship fits into what Sutherland some years ago called a mechanistic explanation of behaviour in contrast to a genetic approach to the study of causation.²²

In this respect, we agree with the Gluecks that companionship may not be causative in the genetic sense but we strongly disagree with them that it is not present at early onset of delinquency. It is present at early as well as late onset.

The sociologists who still insist that bad companions are a genetic causative factor in individual case histories will have to find research instruments which can demonstrate that certain elements of companionship experience had been internalised by the child prior to onset of delinquency and were activated at the time of onset of delinquent behaviour, in most instances by the explosion of the interaction of companionate behaviour at the time. Here we would have the coiled spring (wound up by internalisation of attitudes from the past, ready to be released) and the trigger of the interacting companionship situation at onset which releases the spring. However, the outlook for such a research demonstration does not look too encouraging and sociologists may have to rest content with

²² "Explanations of criminal behaviour may be stated either in terms of the processes which are operating at the moment of the occurrence of crime or in terms of the processes operating in the earlier history of the criminal." See: Sutherland, Edwin M. and Donald R. Cressey, *Principles of Criminology*, 5th ed., Chicago: J. B. Lippincott Co., 1955, pp. 76-77.

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companionship as a modality of male delinquent behaviour, which makes it an interactional explosion in large part.

TABLE 1

AGE AT FIRST KNOWN CONTACT WITH AUTHORITY FOR DELINQUENCY

Age at First Contact	Number of Boys	Per Cent.	Cumulative Per Cent.
8 or younger	20	5.5	5.5
9	20	5.5	11.0
10	29	8.0	19.0
11	19	5.2	24.2
12	33	9.1	33.3
13	55	15.2	48.5
14	53	14.6	63.1
15	69	19.0	82.1
16	50	13.8	95.9
17 and over	15	4.1	100.0
Total	363	100.0	

Median 13.1; Mean 13.2.

TABLE 2

ASSOCIATION OF DELINQUENCY ONSET AGE WITH PRESENCE OR ABSENCE OF COMPANIONS AT FIRST OFFICIALLY RECORDED DELINQUENT ACT

Onset Age	Companions		No Companions		Total
	N	%	N	%	
Early	134	76.6	41	23.4	175
Late	133	73.1	49	26.9	182
Total	267		90		357*

* In six cases it was not possible to determine presence or absence of companions from the official record.

Chi-square. .53; P: n. s.

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TABLE 3

MEDIAN ONSET AGES OF SEVEN FREQUENTLY ADMITTED DELINQUENT BEHAVIOURS

Behaviour	Total Admitting It	Median Onset Age
Take some little thing (worth less than \$2) that did not belong to you	283	11.5
Play truant	294	12.5
Run away from home	182	13.0
Purposely damage or destroy public or private property	187	13.2
Take part in gang fights	157	13.9
Drive a car without permission	208	13.9
Buy or drink beer, wine or liquor outside your home	256	14.5

TABLE 4

COMPANIONSHIP AT FIRST OCCURRENCE OF SEVEN FREQUENTLY ADMITTED
DELINQUENT BEHAVIOURS

Behaviour	Total Admitting it	Companions Present	
		N	%
Take part in gang fights	157	157	100.0
Buy or drink beer, wine or liquor outside your home	256	250	97.7
Purposely damage or destroy public or private property	187	171	91.4
Drive a car without permission	208	163	78.4
Play truant	294	216	73.5
Take some little thing (worth less than \$2) that did not belong to you	283	189	66.8
Run away from home	182	102	56.0

NOTES

THE REFORM OF CRIMINAL LAW IN GERMANY

MAX GRÜNHUT

WHEN the newly elected Parliament of the German Federal Republic has to vote on the draft criminal code of 1960, a long-drawn chapter of German law reform will come to its conclusion. In principle, the code of 1871 is still the statutory basis of prevailing criminal law in Germany. This code had been based on the Prussian criminal code of 1851 which, like other continental codes of the nineteenth century, showed the influence of the French *code pénal* of 1810. Accordingly, the code of 1871 aimed at general prevention by just retribution. At the same time, with its clear definitions of criminal offences interpreted by the conceptional jurisprudence of its time, criminal law in Germany achieved a high degree of certainty and predictability, a development which strengthened the rule of law in criminal proceedings. However, the need for a thorough-going reform of German criminal law has been felt for a long time. Political, social and economic conditions have changed no less than the outlook on crime and punishment. The traditional object of general prevention by just retribution was supplemented, if not supplanted, by the idea of individual prevention in the sense that it ought to be the primary aim of criminal law and penal practice to prevent the individual offender from committing further offences. In Germany, the re-orientation of criminal law, as it was heralded in England by the Gladstone Report of 1895, was the aim of the sociological school of criminal law, initiated and led by Franz von Liszt (1851-1919). A whole generation of eminent criminal lawyers accepted and developed his ideas and made lasting contributions to the theoretical foundation of modern penal policy, while administration and legislation followed slowly and hesitatingly.

Even under a system of codification, law reform is not restricted to the promulgation of new codes. Codification in the continental sense with the ambitious aim of completeness takes a long time to perform. In the meanwhile, the law is adapted to new demands by judicial precedents and statutory amendments. The older the code which is in force, the stronger is the influence which judicial interpretation and theoretical studies exert. Typical illustrations are France where the code of 1810 is still in force, and Austria where the present code of 1852 embodies substantial elements of its predecessor of 1803. In Germany, the *Reichsgericht* did much to consolidate the law under the traditional code, while after the Second World War the *Bundesgerichtshof* anticipated certain aspects of the intended reform by adopting modern doctrines of criminal jurisprudence. This continuous process of an immanent reform of the law refers to the legal standards applied to the determination of criminal responsibility, imputability for acts due to mistake or error, limits of necessity, and criminal negligence. Major questions of

penal policy had to be left to legislation. In 1912, a statutory amendment increased the penalties for cruelty to children and introduced mitigations for certain cases of petty theft. An Act of 1919 restricted the use of short prison sentences by an extended resort to fines. In 1923, the first German Juvenile Court Act provided a specific substantive law and mode of procedure for the age-group fourteen to eighteen, later followed by Acts of 1943 and 1953. An amendment of 1933 introduced measures against dangerous persistent offenders, and in 1953 provisions were enacted for suspended sentences as a legal basis for probation. These innovations were fragments from a systematic programme of penal reform presented in comprehensive draft codes. In civil-law countries with a tradition of nearly 200 years of codified law, it is almost a question of status and authority that the expedients of liberal interpretation and statutory amendments will finally be replaced by a new code.

More than fifty years have passed since the first preliminary draft code was published in 1909. During this time with its dramatic changes in the political life of Germany, the underlying ideas of penal reform did not remain unaltered.¹ The progressive tendency to reshape the traditional criminal law in a new spirit of preventive policy and individualised treatment reached its climax in the draft of 1922, the work of Gustav Radbruch (1878-1949), professor of criminal law, legal philosopher and sometime Minister of Justice. After the Second World War, a new generation of lawyers were reluctant to concede to the State extended punitive powers which had so manifestly been abused by the preceding totalitarian régime. In theoretical discussions and by their legislative proposals the majority of criminal lawyers in Germany show a characteristic leaning towards classical doctrines. They therefore try to satisfy the undisputed demands of modern penal policy under the traditional principle of just retribution.

In 1954, the Federal Minister of Justice convened a Commission of experts on which academic lawyers were strongly represented. In five years of thorough discussion they produced the draft of a General Part in 1958 and of the law of particular offences in 1959. These proposals were embodied in the official draft code of 1960. A rich documentation of the preparatory work offers valuable opportunities for comparative studies. Fourteen volumes of *Materialien zur Strafrechtsreform* contain expert opinions, studies on comparative law and reprints of previous drafts. Minutes of the sessions of the Commission have been published in twelve volumes under the title *Niederschriften über die Sitzungen der Grossen Strafrechtskommission*.²

The draft code is a comprehensive Bill of 484 paragraphs compared with 370 paragraphs of the code of 1871. The first 133 paragraphs contain the General Part dealing with fundamental questions of criminal liability and the

¹ H.-H. Jescheck, "German Criminal Law Reform: Its Development and Cultural-historical Background." In *Essays in Criminal Science*, London 1961, pp. 395-405.

² Current reports of the meetings of the Commission appeared in *Bundesanzeiger* and in *Zeitschrift für die gesamte Strafrechtswissenschaft*.

system of punishments and other legal sanctions, applicable to the particular offences of the Second Part. Under a system of codified law, the principle of legality implies that statutory law alone determines whether an act is punishable. Feuerbach had framed the Latin phrase *nullum crimen sine lege*. The draft code says in its first paragraph: "An act can only be punished if it had been made punishable by statutory law before the act was committed." The definitions of criminal intent and criminal negligence which the code of 1871 had "left to jurisprudence," have now been incorporated in the statutory text. "He acts intentionally who aims at the commission of a criminal offence, who knows or foresees for certain that he perpetrates a criminal offence, or who accepts the possibility of it" (16). "He acts with criminal negligence who fails to act with the care which he is obliged and capable to observe according to the circumstances and his personal conditions, and therefore does not realise that he is committing a criminal offence. He acts also with criminal negligence who thinks it possible that he commits a criminal offence, but wrongfully and blamefully relies upon it that this will not occur" (18). Lack of criminal responsibility (24) and diminished responsibility (25) are also defined. What are known as defences in English criminal law have been assessed by German jurisprudence as concepts of substantive law which either justify or excuse the perpetrator of an offence. Acting in defence (37), or in a state of necessity protecting interests which are more valuable than those affected by the offence (39) justify the perpetrator, while other acts for the protection of life, body or liberty against interests of equal or higher value are an excuse if the perpetrator can in fairness not be expected to suffer the impending harm (40). This distinction facilitates the solution of the question of mistake. Criminal intent is excluded if the perpetrator did not know that a fact prevailed which belongs to the ingredients of a criminal offence (19), or if by mistake he assumed that circumstances existed which would have justified the act (20). If his mistake was blameworthy the perpetrator may be punishable as if he had committed the offence with negligence. If, however, he was of the erroneous opinion that an act like the one he committed was not illegal, he would not be liable to punishment unless his error was blameworthy (21).

The particular offences have been defined by carefully worded abstract conceptions aimed at covering the sphere of criminal activities completely while allowing for a distinct line which separates illegal acts from non-punishable conduct. A long tradition of German jurisprudence in analysing the ingredients of criminal offences proved a valuable basis for legislation. The concepts used for these definitions refer not only to facts like "taking away" or "killing," but also to value judgments like "grossly neglecting a child" or an economic gain "manifestly out of proportion to the consideration" (usury). Modern jurisprudence has favoured an increasing use of such general terms which demand a discretionary decision of the judge. The draft

code follows this tendency, but at the same time gives the court much guidance for the use of its sentencing power. To every single definition of an offence belongs a specific statutory range of legal punishments with the admissible maximum and minimum. Variations of the basic offences carry more severe or more lenient statutory ranges with higher or lower maxima and higher or lower minima of admissible penalties. For these variations, a casuistic method has sometimes been used, if only to illustrate the type of behaviour for which the lawgivers want a more severe or a more lenient punishment.

On the whole, the bulk of criminal offences is taken over from one legislation to another. Like other legal systems, German law divides intentional homicide into a more serious offence, *Mord*, and a less serious one, *Totschlag*. In the draft code, *Mord* is not the basic crime which may be reduced to *Totschlag* by certain extenuating circumstances, but the less serious offence, *Totschlag*, is the unqualified case of intentional killing which is raised to the more serious one, *Mord*, either if committed with deliberation, or from a specific criminal motive; murderous lust, sexual lust, greed, or for the purpose of committing another offence (135). Capital punishment has been abolished by article 102, Basic Law, 1949 (Bonn Constitution). *Mord* carries a sentence of penal servitude for life. *Totschlag* has, according to the particular circumstances of the offence, four different ranges of punishments: penal servitude between five and twenty years, penal servitude between two and ten years, imprisonment between one year and five years or, in the case of mercy killing, imprisonment between one year and ten years. For all offences, the court determines within the statutory range of punishments the penalty in the individual case according to judicial discretion guided by general principles laid down by the draft code (60). There are a number of new offences. Surgical and other medical treatment without the patient's consent, unless indispensable for the preservation of life or health, is an offence of its own (162), so that doctors will no longer be prosecuted for causing bodily harm. The original draft exempted from the punishment for abortion not only cases justified from medical grounds (157), but also from moral considerations, *i.e.*, if the pregnancy was the result of a sexual crime against the woman (160), but the Cabinet deleted the latter provision. Among the newly created offences are artificial insemination (AID) (203), unjustified publication of other people's private affairs (182), wire-tapping and other forms of eavesdropping (183), and contempt of court though limited to the anticipation of a decision in criminal proceedings by discussing publicly the significance of a proof or the possible result of the trial (452). In France too, in 1958, an amendment to the *code pénal* introduced new provisions against acts calculated to prejudice the issue of criminal proceedings.

From a criminological point of view, the most important part of the draft code is the system of legal sanctions. It is here where, more than anywhere

else, the theoretical foundation of the reform has affected the legislative solution, and where any critical discussion has to start. The draft code is based on the principle that the culprit's personal guilt ought to be the indispensable condition and the exclusive standard for legal punishment. The draft code provides therefore for minutely designed statutory ranges of punishments and guiding principles for meting out the sentence within the statutory framework which, at the same time, are intended to facilitate a uniformity of the sentencing practice of the courts. However, the demands of just retribution are not always identical with the requirements of a rational penal policy based on criminological experience. Sometimes, less serious sanctions are called for. The draft code takes over from the amendment of 1953 provisions for suspended sentences though in an even more limited way than recent legislation in France and Belgium, the classic countries of the *sursis*. At the same time, retribution according to the gravity of the offence would be insufficient for the protection of society against serious forms of persistent crime. In this conflict, the draft code, in conformity with other continental legal systems, resorts to a dual system of punishments according to the gravity of the offender's personal guilt, and measures of public security calculated as a protection against his dangerousness. The system of legal punishments consists of fines, designed after the Swedish model as day fines, and three penalties involving a deprivation of liberty; penal servitude, imprisonment and short-term detention, the latter primarily though not exclusively intended for traffic offenders. Measures of public security involving a deprivation of liberty are committal to an institution for mentally abnormal persons, to an inebriate asylum, to a workhouse, detention of younger persistent offenders and preventive detention of habitual criminals, the two latter roughly corresponding to corrective training and preventive detention in English law. Other measures of public security are preventive supervision, withdrawal of a driving licence, prohibition of a certain calling or profession and prohibition to keep animals. This dual system leads to a cumulation of legal punishment proper and of an additional measure to counteract the offender's dangerousness. Punishment according to the weight of personal guilt requires a fixed sentence, while measures for the protection of society must last as long as the offender is deemed to be dangerous. This doctrinal double-track system has been made more flexible by provisions which make it possible to substitute such measures for punishment and vice versa. If the prisoner has to serve his protective sentence first, the time spent may be counted as punishment as well, or the subsequent punishment may be conditionally suspended. Otherwise, if he first undergoes punishment there might be, after the expiration of his sentence, no need to keep the prisoner behind lock and bars and the preventive purpose might be achieved by preventive supervision in the open. There is one exception to these rules. Preventive detention can never be used as a

substitute for punishment. The habitual criminal has always first to serve his sentence of penal servitude or imprisonment before he is transferred to preventive detention or conditionally released under preventive supervision. All measures involving a deprivation of liberty are indeterminate within certain statutory maxima. Preventive detention can, and in the case of a second sentence must, be ordered for an indefinite time, but the court in the venue of which the institution is situated has to reconsider the case within certain statutory periods (90).

With these provisions the draft code appears as a combination of an impressive armoury of modern weapons against crime and of the principle of just retribution according to the degree of personal guilt. This is a remarkable scientific achievement. Throughout the long years of preparatory work and consecutive drafts, the principles of criminal law reform have been discussed in numerous conferences and by an endless flow of literary publications.³ There has also been a lively response from outside Germany.⁴ Seen in its historical context, the draft code appears as a consolidation of penal practice and theory on the basis of previous amendments rather than an inauguration of a new era in penal reform. From a critical point of view one has to ask how the differentiated provisions will stand the test of reality. The underlying principle of criminal responsibility for personal guilt will be generally accepted as the foundation of criminal law in a free society. The question is whether the draft code does not go too far in the conclusions drawn from this principle. In the careful design of statutory ranges of punishments, supplemented by prescribed variations, and by the distinction between punishments deserved by personal guilt and measures necessary in view of the offender's dangerousness, the draft seems to be based on the assumption that personal guilt can be measured and adequately expressed in a determined amount of punitive reaction, although an explicit provision on these lines was finally deleted. The doctrinal difference between punishment proper and a mere measure of public security will not be maintained in the practice of penal administration, nor will it be recognised in the experience of the prisoner. Apparently, the authors of the draft code did not consult the experience of Switzerland where a recent Reform Commission proposed that the court should have the choice between either

³ Only two publications should be mentioned which deal with fundamental theoretical issues: T. Württenberger, *Die geistige Situation der deutschen Strafrechtswissenschaft*, Karlsruhe 1957; H.-H. Jescheck, *Das Menschenbild unserer Zeit und die Strafrechtsreform*, Tübingen 1957.

⁴ *Internationales Colloquium über Kriminologie und Strafrechtsreform*, Freiburg 1958; H. Mannheim, *Deutsche Strafrechtsreform in englischer Sicht*, München 1960, also 71 *Zeitschr.ges.Strafrechtswiss.*, 1958, pp. 181 et seq.; Grünhut, *ibid.* 71, 1959, pp. 521 et seq.; R. M. Honig, *ibid.* 70, 1958, pp. 616 et seq.; P.-E. Trousse, *La réforme de droit pénal allemand*, 38 *Revue de droit pénal et de criminologie*, 1957-58, pp. 943 et seq.; Marino Barbero Santos, "La reforma del codice penale Germanico," IV/3 *Scuola Positiva*, 1961, pp. 273 et seq.; G. O. W. Mueller, *Eine amerikanische Stellungnahme zum Entwurf eines Strafgesetzbuchs E.1960*, Bonn 1961.

a traditional punitive sentence or a sentence of preventive detention, nor the conditions in England where after forty years of experience the cumulative system was replaced by the alternative system of the Criminal Justice Act, 1948. It corresponds to continental legal tradition to put the main emphasis on substantive law and to assign criminal procedure and penal administration to subordinate places. After the elaborate legal framework embodied in the draft code, the task is more urgent than ever to give the penal administration generous facilities to develop new and effective methods for the treatment of offenders in prison as well as in the open.

THIRD WORLD CONGRESS OF PSYCHIATRY MONTREAL, JUNE 4-10, 1961

PETER D. SCOTT

Of the 450 papers presented at this congress of more than 3,000 delegates, several were of criminological interest.

Twins and Psycho-sexual Development

Drs. Kolb, Rainer, Mesnikoff and Carr (New York State Psychiatric Institute) reported on their twin studies in a paper entitled "Divergent Sexual Development in Identical Twins." They have now studied five pairs of "identical" twins (one female, four male) in which each pair differed in their homosexual-heterosexual orientation. Being satisfied that the twins were indeed monozygotic, by the method of Smith and Penrose, they proceeded to make physical, neurological, psychiatric and biochemical examinations as well as intelligence and projective tests, and detailed investigations into the psychodynamics of the twins and of the parents.

The neurological and biological investigations (including steroid analysis and chromosomal studies) proved negative in accounting for the behavioural differences between the twins. Positive features included slight but definite bodily markings in one of each pair, which also in each case motivated the mother to be more interested, protective and attentive to that twin. The pre-natal phantasies of the parents and their choice of name also proved significant. These parental differences in attitude were related to differences in personality growth in the twins and to their psycho-sexual identifications. Early ego-differentiation was found to be the direct product of the greater maternal and family interest; the other relatively rejected twin was forced to seek surrogates which, if lacking, led to serious disruption of ego-growth and identity. It is stated that ego-security is unrelated to psycho-sexual

identity and that homosexual seduction was not found to determine homosexual behaviour nor did it deter heterosexual behaviour.

This study is still proceeding and includes as yet few cases, but shows some of the possible fallacies of earlier twin studies and the necessity for taking into account the early environmental influences, particularly the attitudes of the parents.

Juvenile Delinquency Round the World

Melitta Schmideberg (New York) painted a gloomy picture of New York's juvenile crime problem: gangs of as many as seventy-five youths heavily armed and organised, more than 30,000 addicts (usually to heroin) in the city, juvenile murderers, almost unknown in other civilisations, were relatively common and often came from apparently good homes. Both law enforcement and clinical treatment have been "blatant failures." Her main concern is with the social causes of crime and this is the more impressive in that few are better equipped than she to elaborate complexities of psychopathology.

She indicts such factors as the prevailing over-permissive, child-centred upbringing which stresses needs rather than duties, lack of education and standards, sensationalism and sentimentalisation of the sick offender, recent belief in firm standards of right and wrong as outmoded and reactionary, police corruption and brutality, an organised underworld, intimidation of ordinary citizens and the easy accessibility and prevalence of weapons. Welfare and educational services largely exist only on paper; psychiatrists are not engaged where they are most needed; the permissive and non-punitive approach may have serious ill-effects; research is not backed sufficiently by practical measures. "Why develop prediction tables if nothing is done about the well known cases?" This paper is designed to make clinicians and administrators look at the wood as well as histological sections of the trees.

An equally pragmatic approach is made in a thoughtful paper by *Dr. K. Cameron* (Maudsley Hospital) describing the British delinquency problem. He touched upon the gap between ideals and practice, and upon the inequalities of standards and services in different parts of the kingdom. In questioning whether the increase in juvenile crime is real or apparent he pointed, *inter alia*, to social changes; "the wild oats of the privileged and well-to-do a hundred years ago had been paralleled by the alleged hooliganism among student bodies twenty-five years ago and is now enormously supplemented by a group of the community who were held down by the urgencies of social and economic necessities." Not only were our present young offenders brought up in the war years but their parents also experienced a world war and the economic crises following it. Acknowledging the importance of minor degrees of backwardness, "biological immaturity"

and mishandling in the early home environment the overall increase in delinquency was ascribed to faults in the social environment, to the lack of an overriding idealism and purpose in parental values.

Professor Pecheco e Silva (University of Sao Paulo) reported a great increase in "infanto-juvenile criminality" paralleled by the very rapidly expanding civilisation and great numbers of immigrants. In Brazil stealing due to "the instinct of preservation" was still very much a reality. Other correlates were the disintegration of the family, the atmosphere of moral decay, exploitation by adults, lack of schooling and the "toxico-manias," especially alcohol and marihuana, which drugs may be purposefully used to facilitate a crime.

Dr. Juan Lopez-Ibor (Madrid), however, attributed the low rate of juvenile delinquency in Spain to the persistence of a strong father-dominated family system.

Dr. George Stürup (Copenhagen) was also able to give a reassuring picture of crime trends in his country. Following a rise during the war the figures have steadily fallen and are now nearly back to the pre-war level. The juvenile rate is greater than the adult, especially in the 18-20 year age group in towns, and in the 21-24 age group in the country. Apart from an increase in car thefts and "a not inconsiderable increase" in juvenile sex offences there are no essential changes in the types of crime.

He describes a current research, aided by the Ford Foundation, to study an unselected group of young offenders aged 15-21 by "individualised treatment" as out-patients, comparing them with cases treated under the old régime. The first year of the experiment has demonstrated the severity of the problems; only 11 per cent. are born in and have their childhood in a normal family constellation.

Psychopaths

In a further paper on the evaluation and treatment of psychopaths, he indicates that Danish law looks to treatment requirements in defining psychopaths: they are those who must be presumed to react differently to any punishment, as compared with average prisoners, on account of permanent weakness or disturbance of the mental faculties; the assessment of guilt and of their understanding of right and wrong is of lesser importance. The grounds for detaining psychopaths indeterminately are: substantial personality deviation, risk of new criminality, need of specialised individual treatment.

He holds that the psychopath *can* learn from experience adapted to his personality, that endeavours must concentrate on discovering and building up positive personality elements, and that insecurity, fear and inferiority

must be perceived behind the mask of aggressiveness lest the prisoner feel justified in continuing his defence. Almost all psychopaths covertly regret their criminality and the consciences even of "pure psychopaths" are completely normal as a rule.

The importance, in the psychopathic prisons at Herstedvester and Horsens, of the effect and morale of all staff, besides the doctors and therapists, is emphasised.

As to results he states that 44 per cent. of chronic offenders (punished at least four times at short intervals) recidivate within sixty months of release, after treatment by "integrating, individualised therapy." Chronic property offenders have the worst prognosis (51 per cent.) followed by "aggressives" (28 per cent.) and sexual offenders (10 per cent.). The corresponding percentages for similar cases treated in ordinary prisons are sixty, forty-six and thirty-seven.

Other Papers

Dr. Bruno Cormier (McGill University) in a paper on "Divergent Views between Law and Psychiatry on Problems of Sentencing" contrasts the approach of psychiatrist, judge and parent. He holds that retribution, deterrence and the nature of the offence are inadequate as a basis for punishment. The guilty man has a right to a sentence based individually on an evaluation of his personality and its impact on society. The judge and the clinician cannot be effective unless the state provides facilities for rehabilitation.

Dr. Cormier also gives his impressions of the psychopathology of eight men who had murdered their wives, between two and eight years before being studied. Though of varied personality the men showed a common pattern in that they were aware of their overt aggression to their wives, and of their inability to tolerate continued living with them, yet unable to face the reality of loss of love with its attendant painful mourning. The act of murder forces acceptance and permits of true mourning.

Dr. Eilenberg (Maudsley Hospital) has studied physical disease in boy delinquents using a sample of London delinquents examined by *Dr. V. Wiley* in 1930, another examined in 1955, and the London school population of 1954 is used as a control group.

In the quarter of a century from 1930, congenital syphilis, rickets, lung and heart conditions, infestations, genito-urinary disorders, have almost vanished, but the higher incidence of minor physical diseases (skin diseases, refractive errors, ear infections, deformities), as compared with the school population, persists despite a high standard of medical care. A possible cause of this finding is "chronic parental inadequacy." Recent suggestions for tackling this large social problem are reviewed.

NOTES

Dr. R. H. Phillips (Syracuse, New York) drew an interesting comparison between the dynamics of legal bankruptcy and certain forms of juvenile "anti-social reaction" in which the parents, by allowing and encouraging an ever increasing, unresolved indebtedness on the part of the child, force him into a state of severe impoverishment. His obligation to someone other than the parent is accepted by the parent thus increasing the child's indebtedness. By undermining the child's position with others, the parent becomes the "sole mortgagor." The parent tends to defer the right to repayment, but when the child is put under pressure to meet his obligations he is particularly vulnerable to anti-social behaviour. The weight of indebtedness is so overwhelming that he has little to lose by increasing his obligation.

CANADIAN CONGRESS OF CORRECTIONS

TADEUSZ GRYGIER

JOHN SPENCER

THE third biennial Canadian Congress of Corrections was held at Toronto, May 14-19, 1961. Previous congresses had been held at Montreal, where Dr. Mannheim was a visiting speaker, and at Vancouver. This year's attendance was 700, slightly lower than at the previous congress. The guest speakers were Dr. Manfred S. Guttmacher on "Individualisation of Sentence," Dr. Paul Cornil on "Prison Labour and Industries," and Dr. Georg K. Stürup on "Correctional Treatment and the Criminal Sexual Offender." Among the Canadian speakers were the Ontario Minister of Reform Institutions, George C. Wardrope, on "Recent Developments in Ontario Correctional Services," Chief Justice J. C. McRuer on "Sentencing," and the Chairman of the National Parole Board, T. George Street, on "Community Considerations in Sentencing."

The major part of the work of the Congress was done in small groups and in sectional meetings or workshops covering the specialist interests of prison wardens, magistrates, custodial officers, training school staffs, probation officers, clinical staffs, and chaplains. The Section on Statistics and Research was devoted to papers mainly from university and clinical staff. Among the topics covered were: recent developments in crime statistics in Canada; current correctional and criminological research in Canada; study of chronic drunkenness offenders in Ontario; criminality and personality of the homeless transient; comparison of family and small group experiences during adolescence of a sample of criminals and non-criminals; psychological aspects of criminal partnership; black sheep of the family; survey of juvenile delinquency in Ontario; objective evaluation of brief group psychotherapy

on delinquent boys; follow-up study of sexual offenders referred to a forensic out-patient clinic; and research at the Canadian Congresses of Corrections.

The Congress reflected a mixture of the old attitude to research and the development of a new one. Although the emphasis on research was minor, the Section on Statistics and Research proved to be lively, with numerous papers of relatively high quality. The survey of current correctional and criminological research in Canada, reported by T. Grygier, showed the marked increase in the range and quantity of research during the past two years. And it was decided that the next biennial congress, which is to take place in two years' time in Manitoba, will have as the main themes research and training in corrections.

In the institutional field the Minister of Justice gave some account of current and proposed changes, emphasising in particular the development of minimum security prisons and open camps. Earlier in the year he had announced a new programme to deal with the problem of drug addiction, of which the construction of special institutions is a central feature. The work of the Federal Correctional Planning Committee set up to consider the implementation of the proposals of the Fauteux Committee is now completed.

Proceedings of the Canadian Congress of Corrections are reported in two numbers of the *Canadian Journal of Corrections*. The first one, the July 1961 number, is devoted to proceedings in general, and the second, the October number, exclusively to the research papers.

THE SIXTH INTERNATIONAL CONGRESS OF SOCIAL DEFENCE

MARVIN E. WOLFGANG

THE Sixth International Congress of Social Defence, meeting in Beograd-Opatija, May 22-28, 1961, was organised in co-operation with the Federation of Yugoslav Jurists' Association. The theme of the Congress asked the following question: "To what extent are the differences in the legal position and in the treatment of minor young adult and adult delinquents justified?" Answers were sought through reports and discussions in four major areas of analysis that constituted the principal sessions of the Congress: (1) the biopsychological aspects of the problem; (2) the sociological; (3) the juridical; and (4) the problems of treatment.

Although there were many individual reports and papers submitted to the rapporteurs for each one of these sections only a general report has thus far been published and was made available to all members participating in the Congress. This publication of the International Society of Social

Defence, entitled *Les Rapports Generaux*, is a seventy-two-page document which includes the summarisation and analysis of each of the four sections mentioned above. T. C. N. Gibbens (England) reported for the biopsychological aspects (pp. 3-14); Franco Ferrarotti (Italy) reported for sociological aspects (pp. 15-24); B. Zlatarić (Yugoslavia), for juridical aspects (pp. 25-56); and J. Pinatel (France), for aspects of treatment (pp. 57-72). At the meetings each of the rapporteurs presented his own summary and synthesis of the individual contributions to the particular topic, after which many interventions provided stimulating discussions, some revisions and arguments regarding the more technical aspects of the reports. Professor Ferrarotti was unable to attend the Congress because of illness in his family and was replaced by Marvin Wolfgang (United States), who read the original report with some revisions on sociological aspects.

Only a few of the individual reports and papers submitted to the Secretary General before the Congress were available in monograph form, having been published or mimeographed by research centres, other agencies or individuals represented at the Congress. It is unfortunate that more of these special studies and reports to which the rapporteurs referred were not available to all delegates. A rapporteur can do little more than briefly summarise major points of the individual reports, thus omitting research findings, significant data, and cautious qualifications usually found in empirical studies. Consequently, interventions that follow general reports often do little more than provide additional or contradictory philosophical arguments and may often misinterpret the findings of the particular study, because the source materials are not available to each delegate for his own reading and consideration either prior to or during the sessions of the Congress. Perhaps the number of delegates who want to submit individual papers is too large to permit everyone to report his own analysis or study. But some selection process could reduce this size to manageable proportions so that the benefits of empirical research and more specified analyses could be disseminated to a wider audience.

At this Congress there was an occasional but inconsequential political undercurrent, which may not be unexpected due to the world-wide representation of delegates who attended and to the fact that criminological viewpoints both East and West and from a variety of orientations were brought together in sessions of general congeniality. It is doubtful that from the formal sessions anyone changed his own particular perspective or learned much about research techniques, procedures or scientific advances in countries other than his own. But it appears that at Congresses of Social Defence discussion of criminology as a scientific discipline is less a manifest purpose than is determination of criminal policy. Though the meaning of "social defence" is still somewhat vague to many criminologists, it was obviously represented in Belgrade more as a matter of juridical and penal philosophy,

administrative policy, and application of scientific criminology than as the pursuit of scientific research and analysis *per se*.

The resolutions adopted at the last session of the Congress represent the thinking and meaning of social defence relative to the Belgrade theme:

The Sixth International Congress of Social Defence,

- (1) seeking to establish a stage of evolution in criminal policy towards more complete individualisation of sanctions;
- (2) confirming that young adult offenders present a special problem due to the difficulties peculiar to their age and that are made more acute by certain conditions of modern life;
- (3) considering that psycho-social maturation varies because of individual and cultural differences and because of differences in social stratification;
- (4) considering that certain administrations in charge of applying sanctions already are experimenting successfully with techniques adapted to the needs of young adults;
- (5) considering that the choice and application of sanctions for young adults require a criminological approach and an appropriate judicial climate;

DEEMS

- (6) that it is necessary to provide a special legal status for delinquents who have reached adult status but who are not over twenty-five years of age;
- (7) that it is necessary to entrust to judges having a criminological training the determination of applying or not applying sanctions designed for young adult offenders according to the results of a systematically prescribed examination of personality;
- (8) that it is necessary to permit these judges in the course of the executions of these sanctions to vary the measures according to the needs of treatment;
- (9) and that it is desirable to organise an international collaboration in order to improve the techniques of bio-psychological and socio-logical examinations as well as to promote multi-disciplinary research into the problems of young adult delinquents,

AND RECOMMENDS

- (10) that there be an intensification of the theoretical and practical efforts already being made in the application of individualised treatment of adult offenders.

The Congress was a tribute to the moving spirit of the President, Filippo Gramatica; to the ability of the Secretary General, Jean Chazal, to organise and to maintain decorum; to the writings of the Vice-President, Marc Ancel;

and to the abundant generosity and hospitality of all the Yugoslavian official and unofficial groups and individuals. Any initial misgivings about moving the entire Congress delegation from Belgrade to Opatija for the last few days were dispelled by the charm and delight of the Adriatic resort and the interesting visit to the penal-corrective institution for young offenders on the Island Rab. Many delegates regretted that there were no other institutional visits arranged while the Congress was still in Belgrade. The reception given in Belgrade to representatives of the Congress by Marshal Tito was a gesture of official recognition of the importance of the Congress and added public encouragement to one of the resolutions of the assembly that sought to emphasise international collaboration and promotion of multi-disciplinary research.

The many informal discussions among colleagues that usually occur at such international meetings strongly suggested to this observer that the time is ripe for research involving varying disciplines from a variety of countries and that more opportunities at future congresses are needed to share research experiences. If formation of criminal policy is one of the ultimate objectives of social defence, and if policy is to be based upon the best available scientific data and analyses, the importance of presenting research techniques or studies and of discussing them cannot be overlooked. That the Sixth Congress recognised this importance in a resolution should be viewed as an encouraging sign for the next meeting.

THE INTERNATIONAL STUDY GROUP ON PRISON ARCHITECTURE

LESLIE FAIRWEATHER ¹

THE first International Study Group on the design of penal and correctional institutions was held successfully at the Architectural Association in London from July 10-14, 1961. Thirteen countries were represented, typically by one or two senior prison administrators and one prison architect. They came from Australia, Belgium, Denmark, France, Germany, Greece, Holland, Italy, Norway, Sweden, United States of America, Scotland, England and Wales.

¹ Leslie Fairweather, A.R.I.B.A. (Hon. Secretary) and John Madge, M.A., A.R.I.B.A. (Chairman) were jointly responsible for initiating this Study Group as a pioneering, private venture. The Prison Commission and the Ministry of Works warmly responded to the invitation to nominate representatives on the Organising Panel, naming Mr. Duncan Fairn (Chief Director, Prison Commission) and Mr. A. C. Hopkinson, M.A., F.R.I.B.A., A.M.T.P.I. (Superintending Architect, M.O.W.). The Panel was further strengthened by the inclusion of Professor Robert Furneaux Jordan, A.R.I.B.A., architect and writer. Generous financial support was given by the Joseph Rowntree Memorial Trust and considerable help and co-operation by the Architectural Association.

Numbers were deliberately restricted in order to achieve the right atmosphere for discussion. In conjunction with the group meetings an exhibition of prison architecture was shown from the countries represented, to which the public were invited.

During the week visits were made to Pentonville and Hill Hall Open Prison, and in the week following some of the delegates were taken on a tour to see the new psychiatric prison at Grendon Underwood and the new security prison at Blundeston, both in course of construction. A brief visit was also made to Harlow, where delegates were shown over the New Town. Evening hospitality included a reception at the Home Office given by Mr. C. Fletcher-Cooke, Q.C., M.P., and a sherry party given by the Howard League for Penal Reform.

The brief report which follows can give only an impression of a very full week of discussions.

Penal Policies

The opening session on Monday was devoted to a study of current penal policies and their impact on prison architecture. Prepared papers were read by Mr. Duncan Fairn (U.K.), Monsieur Jean Malbec (France) and Mr. Myrl E. Alexander (U.S.A.). There was a remarkable convergence of opinion on most major issues: the need to "humanise" the prison experience; the emphasis on reclamation and re-socialisation; the need to design flexible institutions to allow for later changes in policy and treatment; and, above all, the acceptance of the principles of small-group planning.

One surprising measure of agreement emerged over the desirable size of institutions. Sweden, so far noted for the small size of most of her institutions (often for 100 inmates or less), is now to build two central prisons for 450 inmates each. The Americans, on the other hand, who have been building vast institutions holding many thousands of prisoners, are now thinking in terms of 500-600 inmates for their new prisons. Very small institutions (holding only 150-200) were thought undesirable because it was not economically feasible to provide the full range of specialist staff, equipment, and buildings for such a small number.

One of the main dilemmas to be resolved in the design of prison buildings concerns the conflicting requirements of custody and treatment. Open prisons, which are apparently more popular in this country than elsewhere, were not regarded by the French delegates as a solution to the problem. Monsieur Malbec thought that only by making the prison absolutely secure could re-education be satisfactorily achieved, because a freer régime was possible only when security was guaranteed.

Mr. Alexander emphasised the need for continual research in the behavioural sciences and urged the systematic use of management principles applied to prison administration. This had already been attempted in the

U.S.A. where, as a result, many of the traditional assumptions in prison philosophy and management were being critically re-examined.

What is the function of work in prison? Should it be used for making money? As a vocational training? Or purely for therapeutic purposes? The answers to these problems varied from country to country, from the belief that work must be primarily re-educational and have no economic function to the acceptance of a system based on normal factory production-lines. There was also a mixed reception to the suggestion of using prison labour in building new institutions and maintaining old ones. The United States of America have adopted a compromise system at their new institution at Marion, where the first specially selected prisoners will be responsible for landscaping the grounds, building fences, and generally "finishing off" the institution.

If there was little agreement on the function of work there was unanimity on the therapeutic importance of leisure, and the need to provide suitable ways of using leisure as a re-socialising process.

Prison Architecture

On Tuesday the discussions turned more specifically to architecture. Mr. Tor Bunner spoke of the new Swedish institutions, dealing particularly with those for young offenders. He showed how these were based on small-group principles with the emphasis on homelike living conditions and vocational training of the highest technical standards. The guiding principle was that the new institutions should have the character of a school and not of a prison.

Mr. Clarence B. Litchfield (U.S.A.), in describing a number of institutions in America, mentioned two which aroused particular interest: the newly built institution in Connecticut holding 400 inmates, housed by careful zoning in both maximum and minimum security conditions, and the Brooklyn House of Detention, a skyscraper block which had to be built high because of the expensive price of land in that area.

Mr. Hans-Joachim Graul (Germany) showed a number of slides of new institutions in his country, including the new prison at Detmold planned so that the buildings themselves formed the perimeter wall and enclosed two central courts. An interesting feature of many of the new German prisons was the provision for both men and women in separate parts of the same institution. This is uncommon in other countries, but our psychiatric prison at Grendon Underwood, now under construction, will provide accommodation for men, women and boys.

An interesting and different approach to the problems of designing prisons was described by architect Mr. George F. Hellmuth (U.S.A.) who was given the general requirements of the new super maximum-security prison at Marion and who then interpreted these requirements through his general

architectural imagination and knowledge into a very interesting solution. This seems to be a typically American situation where prison design is given to outside firms of private architects and is not the sole responsibility of official designers. There is much to be said for this system of "cross-fertilisation" where the experience of the authorities is tempered by imagination and flair from outside.

Security

Wednesday morning was set aside for a discussion on various aspects of security. Dr. M. A. Petersen (Holland) pointed out that economical security could be achieved by careful zoning of activities and by keeping maximum-security areas as small as possible. Mr. Torsten Eriksson (Sweden) put the question which is surely at the root of all discussion on this subject by asking how far security must be carried; what kind of security have we the right to apply to the individual? The answers varied from ditch and fence to armed guards in watch-towers, with more than a passing reference to alarm systems based on short-wave radio and closed-circuit television. All were agreed that maximum security was required for only a comparatively small number of prisoners, but no one was inclined to quote an exact percentage. Perimeter walls were not regarded with great enthusiasm by many countries; most new institutions would apparently be surrounded by wire fences and guarded by electronic warning devices.

The Public Open Meeting

On Thursday a special Open Meeting to discuss the needs of a modern prison system was held in the Home Office under the chairmanship of Sir Lionel Fox. Delegates were joined by interested individuals and representatives of organisations closely concerned with penal treatment and prison design.

The first speaker, Dr. H. K. Snell (Director of Medical Services, Prison Commission) thought that prison medical services could be used more economically if prisons were regionalised, and went on to describe the type of accommodation needed for an efficient hospital service, stressing the need for a pleasant environment and plenty of office space with room for continual expansion. He also envisaged the time when separation of the sexes might not be so rigid as at present thus allowing, for example, dances and mixed whist drives to take place within the institution.

Mr. R. L. Morrison (Principal Psychologist, Wormwood Scrubs) and Mrs. Pauline Morris ((social research worker) both put forward the case for small groups. Mr. Morrison believed, ideally, that an institution should hold a maximum of 150 divided into groups of eight or ten but stressed that we do not yet know what kinds of groups are likely to be most effective and that future planning must be flexible with no premature decisions as to what is best. Both Mr. Morrison and Mrs. Morris emphasised the importance of

staff intercommunication and Mrs. Morris argued the need to design future institutions where the staff, and particularly the specialist staff, could form an integral part of the community, functioning in small, near-autonomous groups. They must be *in* the community and not merely *of* it. Mrs. Morris also urged the redesigning of existing urban prisons and the complete metamorphosis of the local prisons.

Mr. Alan Bainton (Governor of Wakefield Prison) said that the intermixture of staff and inmates was unreal and could only be an ideal. He thought that prison buildings were incurably durable and that architects gloried in the indestructability of their products. Security did not necessarily involve permanence, and security could probably diminish as the man's sentence decreased. He believed, like Dr. Snell, that some of the difficulties in the present system could be overcome if prisons were on a regional basis. On the question of workshops Mr. Bainton wanted to have adequate space provided, to be used according to the special requirements of the prison as it grew up. Finally he emphasised that architects in their prison designs should always have regard to the dignity of the people who worked there, both staff and prisoners alike.

Mr. A. W. J. Cripps (Chief Officer, Manchester Prison) firmly spoke up for prison officers and said that more attention should be paid to getting a contented staff and less paid to constant pleas for more comfort for the prisoners. He reminded the meeting of the merits of the Norwich system which had been experimented with in other prisons but without the same success shown at Norwich.

The last speaker, an ex-prisoner convicted of a civil offence, spoke of her immediate impression of the de-humanising and degrading effect of the prison buildings and régime when she was first committed to prison. Her own experience was confined to Holloway where she contrasted "K" wing (a special block formerly used as officers' quarters) with the rest of the prison where she felt the buildings were working against the efforts of the staff.

The open discussion threw up many familiar problems: plumbing in cells; gymnasia and games areas; cells or dormitories; the provision of purposeful work and suitable factory space; the need for flexibility. Mr. A. W. Peterson (Chairman of the Prison Commission) pointed out that many of the details raised in the discussion had already been incorporated in the new prison now being built at Blundeston.

Many questions were put on the desirability of converting the existing prisons, but Mr. R. Turner (Director of Works, Ministry of Works) insisted that 'a more practical approach to the problem was essential. He said that the majority of our prisons are now out of date but that about twenty-four institutions are being built or rebuilt at a cost of £15 million. As it is usually cheaper to build new rather than to convert existing prisons, do we build new? Or do we redesign the old ones?

This answer, however, still begged the question of what is to become of the old prisons, especially as no idea could be given of how long they will continue to be used. Mr. Duncan Fairn (Chief Director, Prison Commission) said that the main, immediate objective was to reduce the number of three men in a cell as quickly as possible.

Concluding Sessions

The detailed design of cell blocks was the subject for the Friday meeting when Mr. R. Turner (U.K.) and Mr. Sergio Lenci (Italy) read papers to the group.

Mr. Turner described the research which had led to the planning of the new type of prison at Blundeston, and listed ten major aspects which had been taken into consideration in the design, including security, size and layout of cells, sanitary provisions, association rooms and economy.² He was convinced that administrators, psychiatrists, doctors, prison personnel and architects must give much more thought to new planning techniques and to prison organisation and administration in order to improve internal communications and reduce routine duties and physical supervision to the absolute minimum.

Mr. Lenci reported the innovations now taking place in Italian prison design with more open decentralised plans in which cell blocks—usually three-storied—are spaced at some distance from each other but linked by covered corridors to the central community buildings. The maximum capacity is 150/180 inmates per block. Each cell would have a w.c. and lavatory basin.

Summing Up

At the final session in the afternoon Mr. John Madge (U.K.) summed up the week's meetings. After a review of the main topics he said that he did not think any new *problems* had been posed which had not been heard of before but that many fresh and interesting solutions had been offered. It was also doubtful if any clear or different penal policies had emerged. What was absolutely clear was the remarkable convergence of opinion on major issues such as the emphasis on reclamation and rehabilitation and the feeling that there should be no great divergence between public and prisoners, both for the prisoners' re-socialisation and the need to keep the public fully informed about what was going on. Mr. Madge felt that there was possibly a parallel with mental hospitals, where the trend is now to keep patients in hospital for as short a time as possible before sending them home into the full community life. There had not been complete unanimity on all points but that was to be expected. The object of the group had been to expose architects

² A full description of Blundeston was given in the last issue of this *Journal* (Vol. 1, No. 4, April 1961).

to current penal thinking and practice, and to expose administrators to the solutions and problems of the architects. Judging by the stimulating effects of the meetings, this object would appear to have been successfully achieved.

"THE NUFFIELD FOUNDATION"

*Report for the Year Ended March 31, 1961*¹

THE Nuffield Foundation and the Joseph Rowntree Memorial Trust announce that the new National Institute for Social Work Training will come into being on October 1, 1961, at the Mary Ward Settlement in Tavistock Place. The Institute is an educational charity for higher learning, its initial activities will promote consultations and forums for senior administrators and social workers, and courses for social work tutors, field supervisors and selected social work officers whether associated with local authorities or with other statutory or voluntary services.

Professor Thomas Ferguson, head of the department of public health and social medicine in the University of Glasgow, is engaged on a further study of young people in Glasgow. To follow "The Young Wage Earner" (1951), "The Young Delinquent in his Social Setting" (1952), "In Their Early Twenties" (1956), "Handicapped Youth" (1960), Professor Ferguson is to study young people who have been in the statutory care of the local authority and particularly their subsequent assimilation into the community.

The Blackfriars Settlement (Warden, Mr. David Collett) has been generously aided in its scheme to assist discharged prisoners; men likely to benefit are selected in the prisons and referred to individual voluntary associates for after care. The associate visits the man in prison and keeps in touch afterwards, helping him with employment, housing, and offering personal support. It is planned to provide a small number of rooms in the settlement for the temporary accommodation of homeless ex-prisoners.

P. D. S.

¹ Oxford University Press, 1961.

BOOKS AND PERIODICALS

REVIEWS

DIE LEBENSBEWÄHRUNG DER ALS "UNERZIEHBAR" ENTLASSENEN FÜRSORGE-ZÖGLINGE. By WALTER PIECHA. [Göttingen: Verlag Otto Schwartz & Co. 1959. 204 pp.]

THERE exists in Germany a form of institutional detention of delinquent or otherwise difficult or anti-social juveniles known as "Fürsorgeerziehung." Its legal basis is to be found in the Jugendwohlfahrtsgesetz of 1922, according to which detention can be dispensed with or prematurely terminated in the case of certain juveniles who are regarded as "unerziehbar" (uneducable) and whose detention in one of these institutions would therefore serve no useful purpose. The author has made a detailed study of a sample of ninety-one juveniles, sixty-six males and twenty-five females, discharged as "unerziehbar" from the "Niedersächsische Landesjugendheim," Göttingen, during the years 1945-50. His object was to find out whether and how far the negative prognosis of "unerziehbar" was justified in the light of the subsequent careers of these ninety-one individuals. He begins with a brief discussion of the question whether one is at all justified in branding young persons as entirely uneducable or whether in fact all one can say with regard to them is that they cannot be educated with the means at the disposal of the "Fürsorgeerziehung"—a question which he rightly answers in the latter sense as meaning something relative, but indispensable from the practical point of view. His material was selected at random, comprising all cases discharged as uneducable between 1945 and 1950. The danger of lumping together cases of males and females is seen, but the procedure is regarded as unobjectionable provided that—as the author has throughout done—the two groups are kept apart for the purposes of statistics and of individual case study (p. 19). The technique adopted by Piecha in this respect is correct, and as we possess so much less information on females than on males the inclusion of the former is all to the good. The size of the material is just large enough for statistical manipulation of the very simple kind adopted in this investigation—for more refined statistical exercises it would probably be too small. The length of the follow-up period after discharge, five to ten years, seems to be all right; as Piecha realises, it would of course have been better if there had been exactly the same span of time for each case, but for practical reasons this was unobtainable.

Concerning the "yardstick" of success and failure, the author rejects the criterion of re-conviction which has been most frequently used in follow-up

studies. He rightly regards this as too narrow and prefers the more comprehensive concepts of "Lebenserfolg" or "Lebensbewährung," i.e., success in life (pp. 14 *et seq.*). As everybody knows who has done some work in this field the latter method is more satisfactory, but it requires a clear definition of what is meant by "success" in life and it cannot be carried out without personal studies of the case material. Moreover, this method introduces all the dangers of subjective assessments. Piecha is aware of them, but thinks he has been able to avoid them (p. 16); whether he has succeeded in this is difficult to say. He was fortunate in being allowed to spend a year and a half in the "Landesjugendheim Göttingen" (p. 159) and he could also pay personal visits to the individuals in question, unless special reasons such as residence in East Germany or abroad made this impossible (p. 32). The object of the interviews was not revealed, and the impression was given that the interviewer had by chance been passing the interviewee's place of residence and improvised the visit to pass on greetings from the Director of the Home (p. 18). It is of course controversial how far such deceptions—however well-intentioned they may be—are legitimate in criminological research. These personal visits were prepared and supplemented by correspondence with various local authorities and dignitaries, but care was taken not to contact the person's employers.

The cases were classified according to certain socio-psychological characteristics, for example, as those disturbing community life, those incapable of community life, and a neutral group, with further subdivisions (pp. 39 *et seq.*), and also according to their degree of success or failure (pp. 23 *et seq.*), which latter was divided into seven categories; and an attempt was made to relate the socio-psychological types to the degree of success or failure, all this throughout divided according to sex. This occupies by far the largest and most important part of the book (Part II); it is well done and provides many interesting results. For most categories the rates of success are low (*e.g.*, pp. 35 *et seq.*, 103), but bearing in mind that the case material consists only of individuals labelled as uneducable even an overall success rate of 29.7 per cent. comes as a surprise. There are considerable differences in the success rates between the various categories, and it is here that further study and also comparisons with the results shown in other investigations in other countries might be advisable. It is to be regretted that, apart from references to German literature, the author has made no attempt to compare his socio-psychological types and their respective success rates with those in non-German literature. It has to be admitted, however, that any such comparisons would be difficult and possibly misleading because of the subjectively and vagueness of the terms and definitions employed by the author.

The weakest part of the book seems to be Part III, which deals with social prognosis. There are some references here to American literature and to Frey's work, but on the whole the author's knowledge of the literature

on prediction seems not quite adequate. Moreover, as he admits, his case records were not informative enough to allow him reliably to examine the value of such extremely complex factors as "bad heredity" (pp. 125, 141). In only forty-seven out of the ninety-one cases could he find any information on it, and even there he gives hardly any indication to enable us to assess the scientific value of his information. Nevertheless, he makes use of this material to conclude that the success rate is lower in cases with poor heredity than in others (p. 127). This may well be true, but it is not proved by the author's material. Some of the other predictive factors are extremely vague and subjective, almost indefinable, for example, the factor "gemüts-arm" (p. 134) which he regards as particularly useful for prognostic purposes. Another factor, "milieu," is also used without exact definition (pp. 135 *et seq.*), although there is a special reference here to the town-country factor as part of the "milieu." No attempt is made to use the prognostic material for the construction of prediction tables, for which it would have been inadequate anyhow. In a final chapter some details are given for each of the ninety-one cases, but these histories are too brief to be of much interest.

To sum up, this is a very painstaking piece of original research which will be of practical value to those who have to administer the system of "Fürsorge-Erziehung." One of its results will be to make those responsible think twice before labelling a juvenile as "unerziehbar," considering that in the author's assessment nearly one-third of this sample manage somehow to rehabilitate themselves after discharge. The study will also be of some practical value as showing which of the various types are more likely than others to be successful. Moreover, one of the valuable results of the study is the emphasis on the need for an early discharge of certain types of individuals (*e.g.*, pp. 86, 91).

On the other hand the author fails to give a description of the system of Fürsorge-Erziehung and of the Home from where his cases were discharged. All he presents are a few occasional and scattered remarks on certain weaknesses of this particular place (pp. 11-12: lack of training facilities; p. 87: limited opportunities of the Home). As it was his primary object to discover whether these young people discharged as uneducable had in fact rightly been so labelled he should have given not only the characteristics of the juveniles in question but also of the other essential element in the story, *i.e.*, the characteristics of the Home which was expected to educate them and which had discharged them as hopeless.

H. M.

PRELIMINARY INVESTIGATIONS OF CRIMINAL OFFENCES. A report by "Justice."
[London: Stevens & Sons, Ltd. 1960. 32 pp. 5s.]

ALTHOUGH the inscription of the Lord's Prayer on an old-fashioned three-penny piece no doubt represents a technical virtue, it is only of practical

value to those anxious to read the prayer if they possess a suitable magnifying glass.

The Committee of "Justice" which prepared this report was given as its wide terms of reference "the law and practice of the examination of persons liable to be charged with criminal offences, including examination by the police and committing magistrates, the taking and admissibility of confessions, and the desirability of making a defendant give early notice of the main lines of his defence." The Committee began its task by assuming that it is a fundamental principle of criminal justice in this and many other countries that no man shall be compelled to incriminate himself. The Committee then stated its intention of examining the stages of criminal investigation and criminal trial to see first, whether the principle ought to be applied at all, secondly, whether it is applied at present, and, thirdly, what reforms are necessary if it is to be applied. To comprehend the examination of so big a subject in twenty-four pages takes for granted that those reading the report have more than a superficial knowledge of this much discussed problem of criminal justice. In the event the Committee made no serious attempt to examine the fundamental principle. The first part of the report formulates a number of practical proposals—a few of them counsels of perfection when examined against the realities of everyday police work—about the procedure to be followed at the initial stage of a police investigation in recording statements made by persons subsequently accused of offences. The Committee recommended that a copy of such statements should be served on the accused as soon as practicable after he had been charged or summonsed. In this and the next portion of the report—in which the question is examined whether what an accused person says after he has been charged and cautioned should be admissible in evidence at his trial—the Committee fails to distinguish between "statements" and "confessions." This is a distinction which has been considered in India where, under the provisions of the laws of evidence, no *confession* made by any person while in the custody of a police officer can be proved against him at his trial.

It is one thing to recommend that nothing said by an accused person when *compelled* to *confess* that he has committed an offence shall be admitted as evidence, but it is quite another to prevent the use in evidence of words volunteered by an accused in *stating* what may or may not subsequently prove to be a material part of either the prosecution or the defence case. We learn from the very useful appendix to the report prepared by Professor T. B. Smith of the University of Edinburgh that by the law of Scotland "there is nothing to prevent a man who is detained by the police or who has even been charged with a crime from making a voluntary statement to the police, if he chooses to do so. And it is perfectly proper that such a statement if made should be proved in evidence to the jury, as one of the features for them to consider in deciding whether the crime has been committed. But the test is always whether that statement was fairly obtained. To be a voluntary

statement which can be proved before a jury the statement must have been freely given, not in response to pressure or inducement and not elicited by cross-examination, other than what is directed simply to elucidating what has been said."

This seems an eminently just and sensible rule to adopt. It is fair to the accused but, in the wider context of protection of the public, does not save the guilty from the consequences of their crime.

There must be no confusion between the principle that no man should be compelled to incriminate himself, whether he is technically in custody or not, and the admission in evidence of a voluntary statement or confession. As Mr. John Foster says, in his dissenting opinion annexed to the report, the courts accept with alacrity a plea of guilty.

In the second part of the report the Committee sets out to examine whether the principle that no man shall be compelled to incriminate himself either should or does apply in criminal trials today and, if it does, what reforms if any should be recommended. Unfortunately the examination is somewhat superficial. The Committee considered the problem in the form of two questions. One, should the accused be a compellable witness and, two, should the accused be compelled to disclose his defence in advance of his trial. The Committee answered the first question in the negative subject to the recommendation that the prosecution ought to be allowed to comment on the failure of an accused person to give evidence at his trial. It is with this topic that Mr. Foster's dissenting opinion is concerned. The second question is also answered in the negative but the Committee recommends a procedure to enable the accused, entirely voluntarily, to admit facts not in dispute and so reduce the extent of the prosecution's case.

J. V. M. Shields

PATTERNS IN CRIMINAL HOMICIDE. By MARVIN E. WOLFGANG. [University of Pennsylvania, U.S.A. 1958. xiv + 413 pp.]

BETWEEN January 1, 1948, and December 31, 1952, there occurred in Philadelphia 625 cases of homicide, and of these 588 were considered by the police to be victims of criminal homicide. There were thirty-eight cases unsolved but the rest met their ends at the hands of 621 "known offenders." The "known offenders" present something of a problem because we learn later that 20 per cent. of the 607 offenders "made available for prosecution" were found not guilty and we are not told what arguments were used to get them off. Since the "not guilty" are included throughout as "offenders" we can only presume that the police records convinced Dr. Wolfgang that they had in fact committed criminal homicide.

The book is an elaborate analysis of the 588 victims and the 621 offenders and, in particular, an inquiry into the relationship between the 550 victims

and their 621 killers. This latter aspect of the homicide drama is the most distinctive feature of the book. Dr. Wolfgang inclines to a culture-pattern approach to violence as such, as being condoned in some sub-groups and deprecated in others. This, too, is his approach to differential methods of killing—negro males preferring stabbing and white males beating people up—and to such findings as the preponderance of killings at weekends and the significance of alcohol in victims and/or offenders. So far as place is concerned “the most dangerous single place is the highway (public street, alley, or field),” though rather more killings occur in the home than outside. It is the men who get killed outside, while “women kill most often in the kitchen but are killed most often in the bedroom,” and when the woman kills she naturally uses a handy carving knife. It is interesting to note that two-thirds of all offenders have criminal records and the same is true of half the victims, a finding which conflicts with the view that killers are normally first offenders.

The commonest occasion for homicide was some vague “altercation,” involving insults or money or mere jostling; next to these come domestic quarrels and jealousy, while robbery only accounts for 6.8 of the victims. Over half the victims and their killers were either close friends or related by kinship ties, but in the case of women the proportion so related is naturally higher than in the case of men. Since so many killings occurred in drunken brawls we are not surprised to find that many of the victims precipitated their own deaths, but this is not the only situation in which the homicide was “victim-precipitated”: several of the husbands provoked their wives to kill them. In England it appears that a number of killers kill themselves; this is not so common in America, but when it happens it is usually men who commit post-homicidal suicide and men with less blameworthy records.

Such are the main findings. On every topic Dr. Wolfgang compares his material with what has been revealed by other, and mainly American, research. The material has been worked over from every conceivable angle, save in the matter of the “not-guilties” about whom we should have welcomed more information. No one, of course, can be particularly interested in homicide in Philadelphia as such, but Dr. Wolfgang has provided an elaborate methodological model which should be used for purposes of comparative investigations. As has been indicated already, the major contributions lie in the combined study of victims and assailants, and in the analysis of the relation between them.

W. J. H. Sprott

THE DETECTION OF SECRET HOMICIDE. By J. D. J. HAVARD. [London: Macmillan & Co. 1960. 253 pp. 35s.]

THE frontiers of criminological learning ever widen, and D. J. D. Havard's *The Detection of Secret Homicide* is a very careful scrutiny of a delicate region of social defence. The sanctity of human life must always be a

dominant civilised value, and our communal safeguards against secret homicide should command the highest skill and vigilance. Mr. Havard's well-documented history brings home forcibly how very new a technique is legal medicine. The Coroner's Inquest is proud of being so venerable an institution, rich in mediaeval traditions, but its reception of medical evidence—its principal and perhaps only weapon today—is almost a new-fangled innovation. Several vested interests—the magistrates so jealous of their jurisdiction, and the Burial Clubs, a nefarious perversion of the principle of life-insurance—seriously obstructed the evolution of what we now universally deem the principal object of the Inquest—to exclude the possibility of secret homicide. There is disturbing evidence of widespread unreported crime until the County Coroners Act of 1860 drew the ground plan of the coroner's modern powers and duties. A dark age ended when the legislation imposed strict regulations for the certification and registration of deaths, for the disposal of dead bodies and stillbirths. Cremation, which was generally treated as illegal until 1884, attracted a new corpus of defensive precautions. The author unfolds a vivid story of exposure by scientific knowledge of subtle and unsuspected modes of killing. The development of chemistry ushered in new techniques of homicide and also new measures of detecting and forestalling them. The work ends with a useful comparative survey of the medico-legal systems of leading countries, and a slight chapter "Suggestions for Reform." The deterrent efficiency of police work, at its many levels, must always be a factor in the regulation of deviant behaviour; and Mr. Havard's scholarly review of our social defence in this paramount sector of the conflict may be warmly commended as an outstanding contribution to our knowledge of this topic. The Cambridge Institute has served us well in sponsoring this publication.

W. J. Bolt

CRIME AND YOU. By C. W. TOPPING. [Toronto: The Ryerson Press. 1960. vii + 82 pp. \$1.00.]

THIS short paperbound book by Professor Topping, formerly Professor of Sociology at the University of British Columbia, is dedicated to Hermann Mannheim and is concerned with modern trends in penology and with problems of prevention. It was originally prepared for publication in the *Winnipeg Tribune*. It is particularly useful for the lay Canadian reader who wishes to assess the contemporary changes in prison methods taking place in both the Federal and Provincial systems. Canada has had two Royal Commissions, Archambault in 1938 and Fauteux in 1956, which have derived great help from British penal methods and have relied on British experience in making their recommendations. At a time when there are great opportunities and a readiness for change in Canada, this little book can contribute substantially to public understanding.

John C. Spencer

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PROBATION—THE SECOND CHANCE. By JOHN ST. JOHN. Foreword by FRANK DAWTRY, M.B.E. [London: Vista Books. 1961. 280 pp. 25s.]

FEW social workers write accounts of their work for consumption by the general public. It is all too often left to outside observers to provide commentaries and these are sometimes over-dramatised or trivial in their presentation; accounts of social work with offenders are particularly prone to such misinterpretation. Mr. St. John's contribution is therefore all the more welcome since, as an outsider, he has written a thoughtful and perceptive account of a probation officer's work. He is a man of considerable experience as a writer and novelist and at present is on the staff of a leading publishing house. He has the rare gift of the well-informed layman of being able to describe fluently a complex job with all its subtleties in a very readable yet instructive manner.

The probation division of the Home Office gave their support to Mr. St. John's project and he was afforded the opportunity of examining case records, visiting courts and meeting probation officers and their clients. The cases discussed are authentic and at the same time confidentiality has been preserved. Mr. St. John does not describe various aspects of a probation officer's work in piecemeal fashion (*i.e.*, by examining various aspects of the work in watertight compartments) but rather by skilfully illustrating numerous aspects of the probation case-work relationship with representative cases. He attempts to describe in simple terms the psychological and sociological factors that may be important in the careers of different classes of offenders including the adolescent rebel, the old lag, the homosexual and the prostitute. His chapter on "Friendship as a Profession" is a particularly useful description in lay terms of the distinctive nature of probation case-work. He divides his description of "The Clients" into three chapters: "In Trouble with Circumstances," "In Trouble with Others," and "In Trouble with Oneself." At the same time he recognises that such descriptive categories are by no means water-tight and he emphasises this point by frequent cross-references. It is obvious that the author has made good use of the more specialised literature on the subject of probation. There are, however, occasional lapses in his annotations, and in three places (pp. 33, 36 and 105) he makes references to papers or lectures without giving their origin. In two other places the author seems a little muddled in his presentation. On page 53 he implies that it is a legal requirement for the probationer to *sign* the copy of the probation order, and on page 61 when discussing the classification of prisoners he uses the term "convicts." Here and there, Mr. St. John's journalistic "narration" seems to be a little inappropriate for a book of this kind with the result that the style seems a little "racy." These are minor criticisms of a book that gives a sensitive, enlightening and constructive account of probation work with adult offenders. It will serve as a useful source of reference for the general public and as an introductory account for magistrates, lawyers and students

of the crime problem. For, as Frank Dawtry says in his Foreword, the author "has done a remarkably successful job in describing and conveying a section of the life of a national service which today is dealing with 60,000 people on probation, with 10,000 who have left penal institutions . . . some 75,000 matrimonial problems a year, and makes over 100,000 inquiries each year for the guidance of the courts."

Herschel A. Prins

PETITS VOLEURS DE GRANDS MAGASINS. CN. DEBUYST, G. LEJOUR and A. RACINE. [Brussels: Centre D'Etude de la Delinquance Juvenile. A.S.B.C. Publicat. No. 5. 1960. 133 pp. No price stated.]

THIS study of juvenile shoplifters employed an original method. Three workers sat in the offices of large department stores, interviewed the children when arrested, saw them interviewed by the manager, and accompanied them home to interview the parents. Twenty-eight children aged 9-15 were studied. This small number hardly justifies the rather detailed statistical treatment of family and social situation, and results of the T.A.T. test; this tends to show that they have little in common, and like other offenders vary a great deal in psychological disturbance. But the discussion contains many points of interest. Children under thirteen steal in pairs, and those over this age alone; seven of the younger ones were stealing presents for their parents (the cases were collected just before Christmas); eleven had stolen before without detection. The authors criticise the heavy threats and brow-beating administered by the managers, and recommend a system of reporting which comes close to that used in Liverpool by the police liaison officers.

T. C. N. Gibbens

FRUSTRATION AND AGGRESSION. By J. DOLLARD *et al.* [Yale University Press. 1961. 120 pp. \$1.25 or 10s.]

THE FACES OF JUSTICE. By SYBILLE BEDFORD. [London: Collins. 1961. 255 pp. 21s.]

No new surprises are sprung in either of these two books, and yet both are useful in their different ways. *Frustration and Aggression*, which has now appeared as a Yale Paperback (based principally on the original 1939 book) should henceforth reach a wider audience than it has hitherto. *The Faces of Justice*, though written by a lay author in a journalistic style for a mass readership, nevertheless has value in so far as it concerns itself simply with the important topic of comparative criminological procedures in England, Germany, Austria, Switzerland and France. Differences between the English accusatorial and the Continental inquisitorial systems are brought out through case histories and "reportage."

Frustration and Aggression, after over twenty years, has stood the test of time well. It is easy to read, and its basic concept is well brought out; that is, that the frustration and aggression variable is one of the most important in human conduct. The description of the dynamics of this variable is well enough known now, and has, of course, been worked out further during these twenty years by the Yale School. Still topical and interesting are especially the last three chapters on "Criminality," "Democracy, Fascism and Communism" and "A Primitive Society: the Ashanti." The validity of the frustration-aggression concept is traced through each of these chapters, and names appear that are by now familiar and well honoured, such as Healy and Bronner, the Gluecks, Murchison and others. Also, allied etiological variables are discussed, such as stature, health, age, etc., of delinquents in relation to the frustration-aggression variable and its dynamics. Similar treatment is given to the examination of group interaction under conditions of democracy, fascism and communism. Emphasis is given in discussion to the emerging differences in the socialisation of children under varying degrees of frustration with resultant variations in latent or overt aggression. The chapter on the Ashanti, a warring West African tribe, in relation to crime is of special interest, and tends to support the validity of the frustration-aggression concept. Many restrictions are placed upon expressions of aggression, and criminal behaviour such as stealing, for instance, is seen as a hostile act which calls for heavy punishment. After three years of age, children have to sleep with their fathers, and are severely beaten if enuresis persists for too long. Aggression is not permitted to be expressed towards chieftains or the spirits, at the risk of incurring the penalty of death. In times of war, sexual frustrations are artificially increased through prohibition of sexual intercourse of warriors, with a resultant heightening of tension and aggression which is to be displaced towards the enemy. Moral crimes, such as adultery, especially with the wives of chieftains, are often punished in a most aggressive manner by castration prior to ultimate decapitation. The enthusiasm of the crowd calling for such punishment is said to be inter-related with catharsis in a highly frustrated and thus latently aggressive tribe. It is salutary to think that this theory fits the Ashanti as well as Westerners and Easterners in relation to still all too currently held ideas on crime and punishment. Criminologists' emphasis on the efficacy of treatment in response to crime in no way invalidates the theory of the authors.

R. G. Andry

CONTRIBUTION À L'ÉTUDE DE LA DELINQUENCE SEXUELLE. By DENIS SZABO, University of Montreal. [La Fondation Richlier. 1960. 58 pp.]

THIS monograph covers a research into adolescent offenders in the city of Montreal, and includes the psychopathological, sociological and juridical factors.

In terms of psychopathology, the author views sex delinquency as arising from, first, a poor super-ego development—with its consequent absence of a sense of guilt; secondly, a lack of capacity for developing a true affection for others; thirdly, an aggressive attitude to the social milieu; and, lastly, a need for immediate compulsive satisfaction, infantile in character. On social issues, the author adopts Durkheim's conception of the juridical attitude of a community as the embodiment of its average moral structure—a collective of moral persons.

Professor Szabo prefaces his research with a survey of the prevalence of types of sex delinquency in Europe and America over a period of twenty years: the interesting point the author makes is the relative absence of recidivism amongst sexual offenders. The 20–24 age span supplies the maximum number of such offenders, and of the over-all number of delinquents, sex offenders number no more than 5 per cent. Social-cultural factors loom large, and the number of true psychopaths amongst convicted sex deviants is very small.

Professor Szabo stresses as a corrective to current beliefs that the sex offender is not hyper-sexual but the reverse; a trend to compensation for inferiority seems to be the outstanding characteristic.

The records of about eighty cases were the basis of this study, and the factors were divided into primary—*i.e.*, those arising in emotional conflicts in the early formative years—and secondary—those arising from the social-economic milieu. The author breaks down his figures in terms of intellectual development, scholastic and work attainments, and religious affiliation. He also differentiates according to sex the degree to which parent identification has taken place and the sort of active or passive personality which may have been developed by the adolescent viewed in the light of parental character. Different kinds of group affiliation and social activity are considered, *e.g.*, adoption of prostitution in both sexes, absorption in a gang, occasional or accidental manifestations of these orders of activity. These social factors seem to link up with the unsatisfactory parent, his or her indifference to the child, and/or their own (particularly the mother's) sexual irregularities.

This monograph is a small one, but it has a number of raw figures from which further analysis would yield interesting conclusions. Statistically the treatment is suggestive but undeveloped. The sample is small but suggestive.

E. M.

LA MAGIE DU DESSIN: DU GRIFFONAGE AUTOMATIQUE AU DESSIN THERAPEUTIQUE. By JEAN VINCHON. [Bruges: Desclée de Brouwer. 1959.

A STUDY of the relations of drawing, scribbling, and doodling to personality problems. The automatic writing and scribbles are without doubt associated with half-realised inclinations to express a need, a preoccupation, and finally

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an affect. The significance of drawing, from cave drawings to the Sistine Chapel and Picasso's deliberate fragmentations and recompositions cannot be underestimated. They each have meanings at the cultural (economic and magical) level as well as individual significance. The examination of these *griffonages* constitutes not only a diagnostic but a therapeutic instrument for all psychical deviations, from neurosis to delinquency.

The author is well informed, not only in regard to psychiatric material but in the data of art history. A book worthy of study by students of general psychiatry and delinquency diagnostics.

E. M.

LE PROBLEME DES NEUROSES EXPERIMENTALES. By JACQUES CAIN. [Bruges: Desclée de Brouwer. 1959. 168 pp. 150 fr.b.]

THIS is a monograph which attempts to relate animal behavioural experiments to the elucidation of the basic processes in the human subject. The bibliography of over 300 references is truly international in character and covers the wide span of physiology and psychology.

The author is careful to define the type of traumatism used to create neurotic reactions—without previous training, after training, and after special conditioning. There are occasions when neurotic responses appear without these designed situations. It seems clear that even while in the atmosphere of experimentation the animal brings with it its native apprehensions and defences which slip through, as it were, the experimental setting. The application of these experiments to human subjects is therefore beset with doubts. How far, for example, are displacement phenomena studied by ethologists comparable to the complex patterns of transference at the human level? Are primitive stimuli comparable as between animals and men?

With these bristling doubts, the chapter on therapeutic applications must be read and digested with care. Nevertheless, the animal experimental models are worthy of respectful attention while at the same time realising that the step from animal to man is not solely one of complexity but of an emergent form of conduct having specific structures, with rich social-cultural determinants.

E. M.

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